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GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

February 4th, 1880.

LIBRARY REGULATIONS.

THE Council, with a view to the convenience of the Fellows generally, and to the better care of Works that are easily injured, have deemed it expedient to make the following regulations, in conformity with Section XIX. Art. 1 of the Bye-Laws.

1. The Books shall only be delivered to a Fellow of the Society or to some one producing a written order from such Fellow; and a receipt shall be given by the person to whom the book is delivered (expressing the name of the Fellow for whom it is received), in a book kept for that purpose.
2. Any Fellow failing to return a book on the application of the Council, or returning books torn or defaced, shall be considered as liable for their value; and if they are separate volumes, for the value of the whole work rendered imperfect.
3. All books allowed to circulate may be retained A FORTNIGHT; after the expiration of that time every book shall be immediately returned, so soon as the Fellow shall receive an intimation from the Librarian that it is wanted; and after the expiration of ONE MONTH from the date of its having been delivered from the Library, every book shall be returned.
4. All books shall be returned on the first Monday in September for a fortnight, during which period the Library shall be closed for cleaning.
5. No Fellow shall have in his possession at one time more than SIX VOLUMES, without the permission of the Council.
6. Any Member failing to comply with the above regulations, after receiving notice from the Librarian, shall be fined half-a-crown for every week that a volume is detained beyond the time allowed; and the privilege of having books from the Library shall cease until the fines are paid and the books are returned.
7. All charges of carriage and delivery of books &c. to and from Fellows shall be defrayed by the Fellow borrowing the same.

EXCEPTIONS.

- I. There are certain books which cannot be allowed to circulate. A list of these shall be prefixed to the printed Catalogue of the Library, and a notice of such additions to that list as the Council may from time to time feel it necessary to make shall be fixed up in the Library.
- II. No Map, Section, or Drawing can be allowed to circulate without permission in writing granted by the Council, or by the President or one of the Secretaries.
- III. No book or illustration in loose sheets shall be allowed to circulate.
- IV. No Periodical Publication, and no Volume or part of the Transactions of any Society, shall be allowed to circulate until after the expiration of four months from the date of its having been received at the Society.
- V. All new works shall circulate amongst the Fellows after the expiration of a fortnight from the time of their being received, unless the Council (or, during the recess, the President or one of the Secretaries) shall determine otherwise.

No book lent to the Society is allowed to circulate without a written order from the Proprietor.

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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.



VOLUME XIII.



1877.

EDITED BY THE SECRETARIES.

BOMBAY:
SOCIETY'S LIBRARY, TOWN HALL.
LONDON:—TRÜBNER & Co., 57 AND 59 LUDGATE HILL.

1878.

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JOURNAL
OF THE
BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

NO. XXXV., VOL. XIII.

ART. I.—*Copper-plate of the Śilāhāra Dynasty.* By Paṇḍit
BHAGAVĀNLĀL INDRAJĪ.

I submit a facsimile, transcript, and translation, with remarks, of a copper-plate grant of the Śilāhāra dynasty.

This copper-plate was given to me by Mr. Viṣṇu Sakhārām Padvekar, a student in St. Xavier's College. He informs me that it was found by Mr. Rāmachandrarāo Apāji, one of the bodyguard of his Excellency the Governor of Bombay, while he was digging in his field at Tālaleṇ, in the Kolhāpur district. It was in a hollow, built up inside with bricks.

The grant is inscribed in three copper plates. Each plate is 10½ inches long by 8½ inches wide. The first and the third bear inscription on one side only, the second on both sides. The inscription runs longitudinally, and there is a hole on each plate for a ring to hold the plates together, as usual.

On the front side of the first plate there is an engraving of a cow and its sucking calf, with a double-edged sword in an upright position on one side, the whole surmounted by the figures of the sun and moon.

This kind of engraving is found in almost all the inscriptions relating to the grant of land in Southern India. The cow is intended to represent land, the milk the produce of the land, the calf the enjoyer, and the sword royal power. The sun and moon denote perpetuity. They seem intended to show that the person who receives land by

virtue of the grant is to enjoy it, under the authority of the king, as long as the sun and moon endure.*

The inscription is in Sanskrit, the characters being a little different from the modern Nāgarī. The letters differing are principally अ, इ, ई, ख, घ, च, छ, ज, थ, भ, य, र, श. The style is common.

Transcript.

॥ स्वस्तिश्रीर्जयश्चाभ्युदयश्च ॥

जयति स कश्यपसूनुर्यः पीयषं जहार जित्वेदं
 जीमूतवाहनं प्रति नागानंदं च यः कृतवान्
 श्रीशैलहारवंशावरतरणिरुदेति स्म मित्राब्जबंधु-
 विद्विड्धांतप्रोहारो जतिगनृपतिरस्यात्मजो नायिवर्मा
 तस्याभूच्छंद्रराजः प्रियतमतनयः शौर्यसंपन्निवास-
 स्तस्याऽप्यं विरेजे जतिगनृपतिरस्यात्मजो गौकराजः
 तद्भ्राता गूवलो राजा निर्जितारिव्रजोऽभवत्
 तद्भ्राता विद्विषां जेता कीर्त्तिराजो नृपो भवैभात्
 मारो वारवधूजनस्य समदद्विद्वंभिसिंहो रणे
 यस्मात्तद्वैदितोभवत्क्षितिपतिः श्रीमारसिंहावहयः
 पुत्रो गौकनृपस्य सत्यनिलयो लंकेश्वरश्चाज्ञया
 चक्रेशप्रियमातुलो ऽतुलगुणः श्रीरूपनारायणः
 तदात्मजो गूवलदेवनामा नयांबुधिः क्षात्रगुणैकभूमिः
 जयांगनालिंगितबाहुदण्डो बभूव नित्यं कैनपचंडः
 तस्यानुजन्मा विनतावनीशसत्कुंतलाव्यावृतपादपद्मः
 श्रीभोजदेवो रिपुवीरनारीवैधव्यदीक्षाकरणैकदक्षः
 तद्भ्राता सुभगांगनारतिपतिर्वृलालभूपालकः
 किं वर्ण्यः खलु यद्यशोधवलयदौवापृथिव्योर्वपुः
 दृष्ट्वाहर्निशमात्मनश्च किरणानिंदुः [] प्रमुष्टान्दिवा

* On some grants there is the figure of a god, which shows either that the god is a witness to the continuance of the grant, or that it is made to propitiate the god.

१ त्वं. २ प्र. ३ व्यभान्. ४ दभ्यु. (?) ५ कुनृपचण्डः ६ दया.

लज्जोपार्जितहृत्कलंकमधुना धत्ते ऽयमंकच्छलात्
 तस्यानुजन्मा सुचिरं चक्रास्ते श्री गंडरादित्यनृपो जगत्यां
 विद्विष्टदुष्टावनिपालराजिघोरान्धकारक्षरणैकलक्षः
 अवार्यतेजास्ततोदयो यो मनोमैयानन्तविचित्रवाजी
 रात्रिं दिवं संपरिभासमानस्तमाननामानमधः करोति
 पीनांभोजाश्रियं कुर्वन्नुदितः खेचरेश्वरः
 गंडरादित्यभूपालो विद्विड्ध्वातांतकस्तदा
 राजन्मीरेजहस्तो विबुधततिनुतस्तोदयः प्रत्यहर्था
 प्राविर्भूतात्मतेजोनुविचरितजनो नात्मकार्यप्रवृत्तः
 क्षोणीमेनामनून[१]मनुदिनमधिकं भासयन्नासमंता-
 देकस्तो व्याप्ततेजाः खचरगणमणिगंडरादित्यदेवः

समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दमहामंडलेश्वरः तगरपुरवराधीश्वरः श्रीशिलाहा-
 रनरेंद्रः जीमूतवाहनान्वयप्रसूतः सुवर्णगरूढध्वजः मरुवंकसर्पः अय्यनसिंगः
 रिपुमं[१]डलिकभैरवः विद्विष्टगजकंठीरवः इडवरादित्यः रूपनारायणः शानि-
 वारसिद्धिः गिरिदुर्गलघनः कलियुगविक्रमादित्यः श्रीमन्महालक्ष्मीलब्धवरप्र-
 सादादि समस्तनामावलिविराजितः श्रीमन्महामंडलेश्वरो गंडरादित्यदेवः
 मिरिंजदेशं सप्तसखोलं सकौकणमेकच्छत्रेण दुष्टनिग्रहशिष्टप्रतिपालनपुरः-
 सरं सधर्मेणोपभुञ्जानः एडेनाडांतर्गतीररवाडग्रामे (क्री) डानुवृत्त्या मुख-
 संकयाविनोदेन विजयराज्यं चिरं कुर्व (न्) शकनृपकालातीतद्वान्निशदु-
 त्तरसहस्रे विरोधिसंवत्सरे माघशुद्धदशम्यां मंगलवारे नानागोत्रेभ्यः षोड-
 शविप्रेभ्यः कन्यादानं कृत्वा तत्पाणिग्रहणसमये वंक्रवने खोलांतर्गत गुडा-
 यनामग्रामे गालगुट्टिसजयापल्या पृविष्टया सहवर्त्तमाने खोलशुद्धिक्षेत्रमा-
 नदंडेन निवर्त्तनत्रयेणैकैकां वृत्तिं कल्पयित्वा षोडशवृत्तीः समन्वितैकैकनि-
 वेशनाः समदात् । श्रीप्रयागे लक्षब्राह्मणान्भोजयित्वा तद्भोजनाधिष्ठायकाय
 वृत्तिमेकामयच्छत् तत्संवत्सरोपरितनविकृतसंवत्सरवैशाखपौर्णमास्यां सोम-
 ग्रहणपूर्वणि पंचलांगलव्रतं कृत्वा तदंगदक्षि (णा) तथा वृत्तिद्वयं ददातिस्म ।
 मिरिंजदेशांतर्गत इरुकुडिनामग्रामे निजनिर्मितगंडसमुद्राख्यतटाकोपक-

* From the context " रया " appears proper. ' उच्य.

ण्टे निजप्रतिष्ठितेश्वरबौ (बु) द्वाहद्वयः प्रत्येकमेकैकं निवर्तनमिति त्रिभ्यः
 त्रीणि निवर्तनानि प्रददौ । गुडालयग्राममूलिकाय निवर्तनानि चत्वारि व्य-
 तरत् गुडालेश्वर देवाखंडप्रदीपार्थमभिष्टिकाभिप्रगुणनार्थं प्रपोदकप्रदानार्थं
 सौपर्णतांबूलार्थं च वृत्तिमेकामददात् । गुडालेश्वरदेवस्य पूजायै निवर्तन
 मेकं पूर्वप्रसिद्धमेव प्रतिपालितवान् । तद्ग्रामपश्चिमदिशि प्रतिष्ठित महादेवस्य
 पूजायै पूर्वप्रसिद्धं निवर्तनार्द्धं प्रतिपालितवान् । एवमनेकविधभूमिदानेन सवृ-
 क्षमालाकुलं ग्रामं धारापूर्वकमाचंद्रतारमापुत्रपौत्रिकं सशासनमयच्छत् ।
 तस्य सीमा आग्नेयां दिशि पर्वताग्रे पणुतरगे-खोलस्य सीमा तत्प-
 श्चिमतो मयूरवप्पया दक्षिणतो म्यसानकप्राकारः । तत्पश्चिमतो लधु-
 श्रोतंभूतो नदिप्रवाहो यावच्चंदनकालसंगमः । तदक्षिणस्यां दिशि खंदि-
 रस्याणुः । तत्पश्चिमतस्तटाकपालिः प्रमाणं । तदक्षिणतः अगबालयस्य
 खलयं प्रमाणं । तदक्षिणतः मणियवप्याः प्रमाणं । ततः प्रागुक्त पणुतरगे-
 खोलस्य सीमाप्रमाणमिति ।

मद्वंशजाः परमहीपतिवंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भूमिपालाः
 ये पालयन्ति मम धर्ममिदं समस्तं तेभ्यो मया विरचितौजल्लिखे मूर्ध्नि
 सामान्योऽयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।
 सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः
 बहुभिर्वसुधाभुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः
 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ।
 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां
 षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते कृमिः
 गामेकां र(क्ति)कामेकां भूमेरप्येकमंगुलम्
 हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाभूतसंप्लवम्
 समधिगतन्यायार्णवसीमा दीर्णान्यवादिकुमहिम्ना
 श्रीदामोदरनाम्ना रचितमिदं शासनं जयति
 समधिगतशिल्पशास्त्रः कण्डरुणकलापसर्वज्ञः
 लिखितांभोरुहगर्तः शासनमिदमलिखदप्योज्जः

यावच्चंद्रश्च सूर्यश्च व्योम चांबुधयस्तथा
तावच्च श्रीशिलाहारशासनं जयतादुवम् ।

Translation.

May it be propitious, victorious, and prosperous!

The son of Káśyapa (Garuḍa), who, having conquered Indra, carried away nectar to Jimutaváhaṇa and made serpents delighted, is victorious, king Jatiga rises in the dynasty of Śilāhāra like the sun in the sky, a brother to lotuses his friends, destroyer of darkness his enemies. His son Nayivarmá.

To him was born a very lovely son, Chandrarāja, an abode of courage and wealth. His son king Jatiga was gorgeous. His son Gonkarāja.

His brother was Gúvala, who was victorious over a multitude of enemies. His brother was king Kírttirāja, a conqueror of his adversaries.

(Then) came the king bearing the name of Mārasiūha, who was so called because he was like a *Mar* (the god of love) to concubines, and *Siṃha* (a lion) to enemies infuriated with intoxication like elephants in rut. The son of king Gonka, an asylum of truth, a lord of Laṅkā (Rāvaṇa) in his commands, a beloved uncle of the lord of a circle ; possessing incomparable virtues ; a Nārāyaṇa in wealth and beauty.

His son was Gúvaladeva by name, an ocean of morality, the pre-eminent resort of the virtues of Kshatriyas, whose arm was embraced by Jayānganá (the goddess of victory), always a terror to bad kings.

His younger brother the illustrious Bhojadeva, whose feet are encircled by the beautiful hair of princes who have surrendered to him, as lotuses by large black bees, skilful in initiating the rites of widowhood among the wives of the bravest of enemies.

His brother, king Ballála, the god of love to beautiful women, who is beyond description, whose glory has made the whole of the earth and the sky white.

The moon, seeing day and night her rays carried away by his day, bears up to this time, through shame, a stain in her heart, under the disguise of a mark.

His younger brother the illustrious Gandarāditya was long glorious in the world, whose sole attention being directed to destroying hideous darkness, consisting of a host of wicked kings (his) adversaries ;

Who outvies his namesake (Aditya or the sun), possessing unobstructed splendour, always rising, having unlimited and divers horses with speed like that of the mind, brilliant day and night.

King Gandarāditya has risen,[†] augmenting royal glory, the lord of *Khechars* (demigods), always annihilating darkness his enemies; his hands like beautiful lotuses; to whom a number of the learned bow down; always rising; whose manifest splendour is followed by the people; not devoted to selfishness; king Gandarāditya, full of splendour, imparts daily undiminished profuse lustre to this earth all around.

The illustrious Gandarāditya, who has acquired the five great titles the lord of a great circle, excellent sovereign of Tagarapur, king of the Śilāhāra dynasty, born in the family of Jīmūtavāhaṇa, having a golden eagle in his ensign, Maruvanka,* Ayyansing,* a terror to tributary hostile princes, a lion to elephants his enemies; Idavarāditya,* resembling Nārāyaṇa in beauty; whose desires are accomplished on Saturdays; who can cross over mountain fortresses; a Vikramāditya in the Kali Yuga; recipient of good graces from Mahālakṣmī; resplendent with these and other epithets; enjoying under one umbrella (under one rule) the district of Mirinj (Mirija) with Sapta Kholla and the Koṅkaṇa; punishing with justice the wicked, and protecting the obedient; carrying on playfully a long victorious reign, with delight from the tales of happiness, in the village of Tirwad in the interior of Ednada; having on Tuesday the 10th of the bright half of Māgha in the year Virodhi 1032, after the time of the Śaka king, made gifts of daughters in marriage to sixteen Brāhmaṇs of various *gotras*, and having on the occasions of the marriages (joining of hands of the bride and the bridegroom), formed separate maintenances, each equal to three *nivartanas*† by the land-measuring rod of Kholla Shudi in the village of Gudaya, included in Kholla in Vankavana, along with Gālagūttisajayāpalli Pravishtaya, granted sixteen *vr̥ttis* (maintenances), each accompanied by a house, after having fed one lākh of Brāhmaṇs at the Sacred Prayāga, gave one (maintenance) to the superintendent of the dinner. In the year following, in the Vikṛit *saṁvatsara*, having performed the vow of Panchalangal on the auspicious day of a lunar eclipse on the full moon in the month of Vaiśākha, gave two *vr̥ttis* as a *dakṣhiṇa* on that

* Local Canarese words.

† A measure.

account. (He) granted three *nivartanas* (of land), one to each, to three gods—Mahādeva, Buddha, and Arhat—set up by him in the vicinity of a tank, Ganda Samudra, built by him in the village of Irukudi, situated in the district of Mirinj. Gave four *vr̥ittis* to Mūlika (hereditary village officer) of the village of Gúdālaya. One for the god Gúdāleśvara for everlasting lights, for continuing the fire in the fire-place, for supplying water from a cistern, and for the distribution of betelnut and leaves. Continued one *nivartana* which was well known before (as assigned) for the worship of the god Gúdāleśvara. Preserved the half-*nivartana* which was celebrated before for the worship of Mahādeva, installed to the west of that village. In this manner, by gifts of various lands, he gave with a grant, by pouring water, the village, surrounded by rows of trees, (to be enjoyed) by sons and grandsons as long as the moon and stars endure.

Its boundaries :—In the south-eastern direction in front of the hill the boundary of Panutarage Kholla; to the west of which is Masyan prākara, on the south side of Mayura varpa; west of that, the course of a river having a small stream to its junction with the Chandanakāla; southward from that a branchless trunk of acacia, to the west of which the bank of a tank is the boundary; to its south, the yard of Agbāla; to its south again Maniyavarpi. After that is the boundary of Panutarage Kholla, mentioned before.

I raise my hands to the forehead to those kings on the earth, born either in my family or in that of other kings, who, with a mind free from sin, shall protect this charity of mine. Good Rāma again and again entreats all these future kings that they should from time to time preserve this bridge of charity which is common to all kings.

Various kings, including Sagara, have enjoyed the earth, but the fruit is his whosoever is the land.

He who takes away the land given by himself or by others is born a worm in dung for sixty thousand years.

He who wrongfully takes a cow, (gold equal in weight to) one *rakti*, or even a finger's breadth of land, is consigned to hell till the destruction of the world.

This grant, composed by Śrī Dāmodhar, who has attained the limits of the ocean of logic, who has cut down the false praise of other disputants, is excellent.

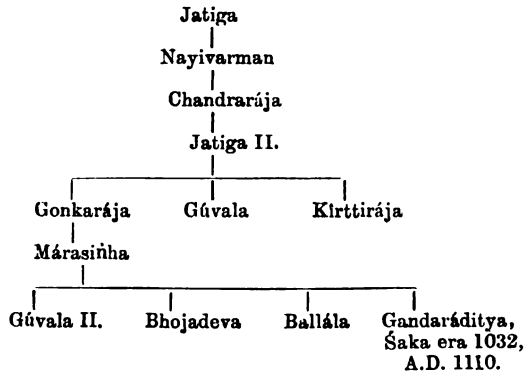
Apioja, who has acquired the knowledge of architecture; who is

conversant with the art of engraving, a mine of lotuses of inscriptions, wrote this grant.

While the sun, moon, the sky and stars endure, may this grant of the illustrious Śilāhāra be victorious !

Remarks.

The following genealogy of the Śilāhāra dynasty can be traced from the inscription :—



The king Gandarāditya has given, by the above grant, lands to several Brāhman̥s and others.

Gandarāditya is called *Tagarpura varādhīvara* ('the excellent and great lord of Tagara'). This epithet, it appears, is very commonly applied to the kings of the Śilāhāra dynasty, from which I conclude that Tagara was the original capital of the kings of all the branches of this dynasty.

The site of Tagara has not yet been correctly identified ; but Lieut. Francis Wilford argued, on the authority of Greek writers, that this city is the same as the modern Daulatābād (vide *Asiatic Researches*, vol. I., p. 369).

Mr. Wilford's conjecture does not appear to me to be sound. I have seen many inscriptions of the Yādava dynasty of Daulatābād, but have not yet met with the name of Tagara in any of them. The name for Daulatābād in these inscriptions is Devagiri, and this seems to have been the name of the place from a very remote period.

If so, Tagara must be the ancient name of some other town. The places mentioned in the grants of the kings of the first branch of the Śilāhāra dynasty belong mostly to the Northern Koṅkaṇa. Their capital city, it is probable, would therefore be somewhere in that district.

The only ancient town close to this part of the country is Junnar, which is situated on the Ghāts. There is a road through the Koṅkaṇa viā Nánághāt to this town. Those who may have travelled by this road could not but have remarked, from the number of tanks, halting-places, and old inscriptions met with all along, that there must have been great traffic on it in ancient times.

As I have not myself consulted the Greek writers on the subject, I leave it for the decision of those who are better acquainted with these matters. But even from the authorities quoted by Mr. Wilford in his paper on Tagara I am led to identify it with Junnar. Mr. Wilford says, "Arrian informs us that Tagara was about ten days' journey to the eastward of another famous mart called Plithana or Pluthana." Plithana is the name of modern Paithāṇa, and Junnar is situated at nearly this distance, but in a westerly direction from Paithāṇa. If the discrepancy of the direction be left out of consideration, as it is probable the writer might have made a mistake about it, Tagara may be identified with Junnar.

According to Arrian again, "Tagara was the metropolis of a large district called Ariaka." This is equally applicable to Junnar, the situation of which is contiguous to the district of Ariaka, which is the same as the Koṅkaṇa. In speaking of Tagara he says that the Greeks were prohibited from landing at Kalyāṇa. This shows that there was a road from Kalyāṇa to Tagara. The route viā Nánághāt mentioned above is very likely that very road.

It is said "There were other harbours to the south of Kalyāṇa belonging to the Rāja of Tagara." This further proves the vicinity of Tagara to Kalyāṇa, which is also the case with Junnar.

From all this I think that Tagara is the same as Junnar. Moreover, Junnar is not the real and original name of the place. The word 'Junnar' is composed of *Junanaar* or *Jirnanagara* ('old town'). Such names are generally given, through ignorance of the proper old name, to places which were once deserted but have been populated again: as, for instance, Junágadh in Káthiávād, the former name of which was Girinágara. The name may have been similarly given to the ancient town of Tagara.

The Greek authors describe Tagara as having been a great commercial city, which can also be said of Junnar. Its importance in this respect is attested by the remains of various caves and inscriptions relating to grants made by companies of castes, and some by Yava nas (Greeks); and by ancient ruins in the suburbs of the town.

Gandarāditya is said in the grant to have set up the idols of Śiva, Buddha, and Arhat, and assigned separate lands for defraying the expenses of their establishment.

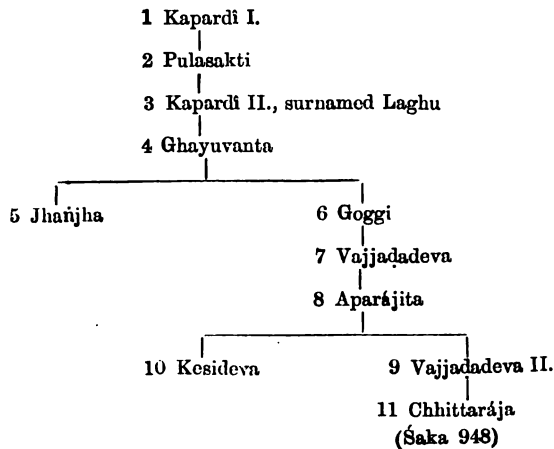
This shows that he had great religious tolerance; for the three systems of religion, represented by these three gods, have all along been rival ones. It also proves the existence of Buddhism, in the part of the country ruled by this king, about the beginning of the twelfth century of the Christian era.

I will now try to trace the genealogy of the Śilāhāra dynasty, as far as it can be ascertained from an examination of the sixteen different inscriptions which have come under my observation. It appears there were three different branches of the dynasty, all of which reigned in different places at nearly the same period.

I have seen the following six inscriptions of the first branch :—

- (1) Dr. Bühler's Bhāṇḍup inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.*, Sept. 1876, p. 276).
- (2) General Carnac's Thāṇā inscription (*As. Res.*, vol. I., p. 357).
- (3) } Two inscriptions at the Kaṇherī caves.
- (4) }
- (5) Ambarnāth inscription.
- (6) Parcel inscription.

No. 1, *Bhāṇḍup inscription*.—The translation of this inscription by Mr. Wathen appeared in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. IV., p. 109. Dr. Bühler has revised the translation after seeing the original plates. He gives the following genealogy of this branch :—



No. 2, General Carnac's Thānd inscription.—From the facsimile of one of the plates as given in the *As. Res.*, I find the names of the kings in it correspond with those in the above genealogy up to Aparājita. There is a slight difference in the name of one king, viz. Ghayuvanta; instead of which there is the name of Vappuvana. There being no facsimile of the other plates, I am not able to draw up a list of other kings. The translation furnishes the name of the donor as Arikesarideva, and the date of the grant Śaka 939 (Pingala cycle). This king may be the same as Kesideva in the Bhāṇḍup inscription.

Nos. 3 and 4, Kanheri inscriptions.—These have not yet been transcribed nor translated. Mr. West has given the facsimiles of them under Nos. 15 and 42 in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. VI.

As these facsimiles cannot be read properly, I went myself to the caves, on 20th November 1876, to take a correct one; but the inscriptions being at a great height, and having no means to reach them, I could with difficulty take a transcript of the name of the king and the date, which are at the beginning of the inscription.

The translation of this portion is as follows :—

“ No. 15.

“ May it be propitious! On the 2nd day of the dark half of Mar-gaśirsha in the Prajāpati* year. After seven hundred and seventy-five years, in figures Saṃvat 775, of the Śaka king had passed. During the victorious and happy reign of Amoghavarshadeva, the great sovereign, the great king of kings, the noble lord, meditating on the feet of the great sovereign, the chief of kings, the majestic lord, the illustrious Jagattunga. He presented the whole of the Koṅkaṇa, during the flourishing and victorious reign in it of Kapardi, who has gained the five great titles, a jewel among the great chiefs of districts, meditating on the feet of Pulasakti, the gem of the great chiefs of districts.”

“ No. 42.

“ May it be propitious! After seven hundred and ninety-nine, in figures 799, years of the Śaka king had passed away, during

* The Prajāpati year is derived by calculation from the Vikrama era, but there is no doubt that it belongs to the Śaka era. There is a similar calculation in a copper-plate grant of Govindrāja III. belonging to the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. In this grant the Śaka is 730, and the cycle year is Vyaya.

the prosperous and victorious reign of the illustrious Amoghavarshadeva, the great lord, the chief of great kings. (By him) was presented the whole of the Koṅkaṇa, in the circle of which Kapardi, a jewel among the chiefs of districts, during his victorious and prosperous reign."

These two inscriptions show that Kapardi was the king of a small territory subject to the rule of Amoghavarshadeva.

Amoghavarshadeva probably belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa race, and Kapardi is the same as Kapardi, and son of Pulasakti, surnamed Laghu, in the Bhāṇḍup inscription II.

The date of Kapardi in the Kaṇherī inscriptions is Śaka 775. Assuming that each of the two kings (in Dr. Bühler's genealogy) who preceded him to have reigned for twenty years, the date of the first king in the genealogy can be fixed at Śaka 735 (813 A.D.).

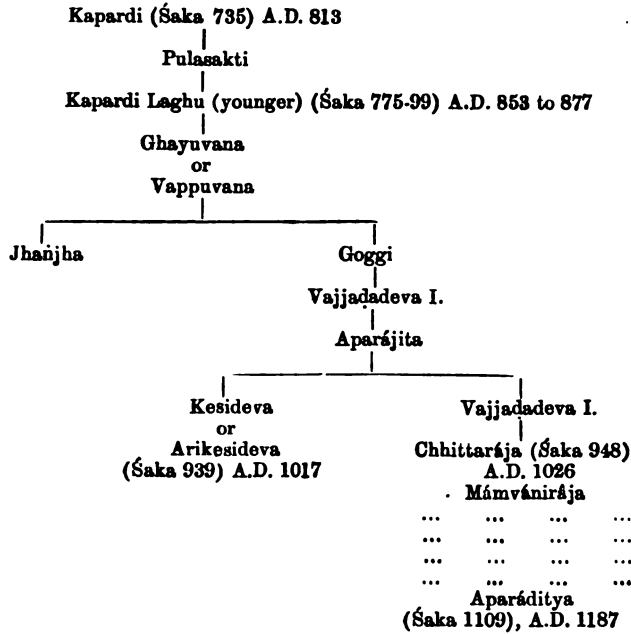
No. 5, *Ambarnāth inscription*.—I have presented a revised translation and transcript of this inscription to the Society. It furnishes the name of king Māmvānirāja, whom I conclude to be the next king after Chittarāja of the Bhāṇḍup grant. His date is Śaka 982.

No. 6, *the Parel inscription*.—The king mentioned in this inscription is Aparāditya, who reigned about the Śaka year 1109. I am rather doubtful as to what branch of the Śilāhāra dynasty he belonged to, but there are two things from which I am led to believe that he belonged to the same branch as the above. These are, *first*, the country in which he ruled,—Salsette; and *secondly*, the resemblance in the style of writing of the grant.

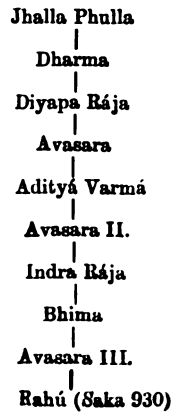
We have not yet been able to ascertain what kings reigned between Māmvānirāja and Aparāditya. To fill up this gap we must get some more inscriptions belonging to the kings of this dynasty.

The inscription and grants of this branch are found in the Northern Koṅkaṇa, from which it may be presumed that that was the situation of the kingdom.

The genealogy of this branch, as derived from the foregoing inscriptions, is as follows :—



Second branch of the Śilāhāra dynasty.—I have seen only one inscription of this branch. It is a copper-plate grant found at Khārepātan, and was described by Mr. Bāl Gangādhār Śāstri in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. I. It supplies the following genealogy :—



It appears from the grant that these kings were subject at first to the princes of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, and after the overthrow of their supremacy to those of the Chālukya race.

The first king in the above genealogy was a great favourite of Kṛishṇarāja, who was very likely the second king of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty alluded to in the Khārepāṭan grant. There are no means to ascertain the exact time of Kṛishṇarāja. But assuming the collective period of the reigns of the kings in the said genealogy to have extended over two hundred years, the first king would appear to have flourished in the Śaka year 730 (A.D. 808).

This year nearly corresponds to that of the first king of the first branch (Kapardi).

In the absence of any satisfactory proof, and from the fact of the copper-plate being found at Khārepāṭan, I think that the seat of government of these princes must have been in the Southern Koṅkana.

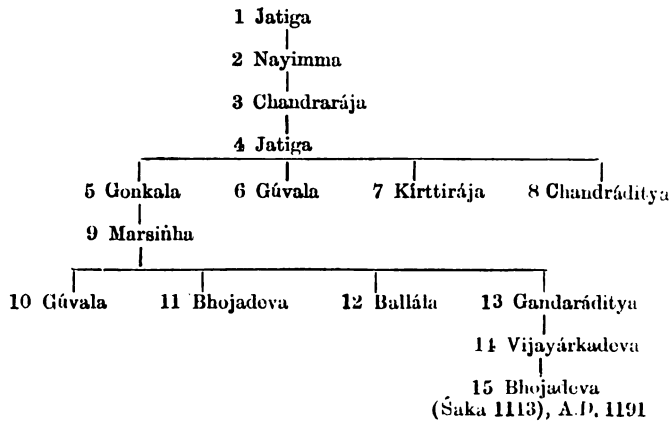
Third branch of the Śilāhāra dynasty.—I have seen eleven inscriptions of this branch :—

(1) Grant of Land in the Concan, *Trans. Bo. Lit. Soc.*, vol. III.

(2) Wathen's copper-plate, *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IV.

(3-11) Kolhāpur inscriptions—*Bombay Government Selections*, No. VIII., New Series.

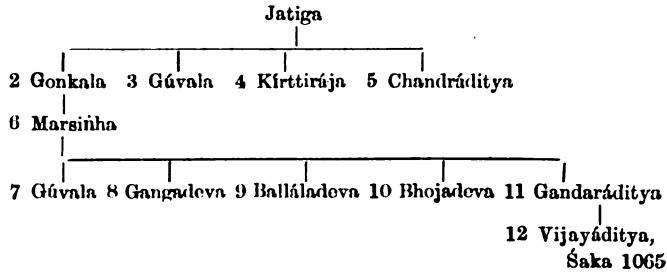
The first inscription furnishes an exhaustive genealogy, which is as follows :—



The second inscription relates to a grant given by Marsiṇha, who is the ninth king in the above genealogy. The date of this king, as given in the grant, is Śaka 980 (A.D. 1058).

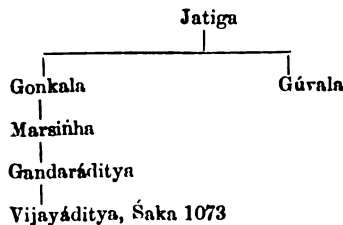
Kolhāpur inscriptions.—Mr. Graham has given a substantial translation and facsimile of these inscriptions in his *Statistical Report of Kolhāpur*. Nos. 1, 2, 3 relate to grants given by Gandarāditya in the Śaka years 1032, 1040, and 1058. This Gandarāditya is the thirteenth king in the above genealogy. The first date, 1032, corresponds with the date of the grant which is the subject of this paper.

No. 4 furnishes the following genealogy :—



Śilāhāra is said to be the son of Gandarāditya in the translation, which is evidently a mistake, as Śilāhāra is the name of a dynasty. The real name of the son of Gandarāditya is Vijayāditya, and it is so given in the facsimile. This inscription also presents an additional name, viz. Gangadeva, which is wanting in the genealogy of the first inscription.

No. 5.—The following genealogy is traced from this inscription :—

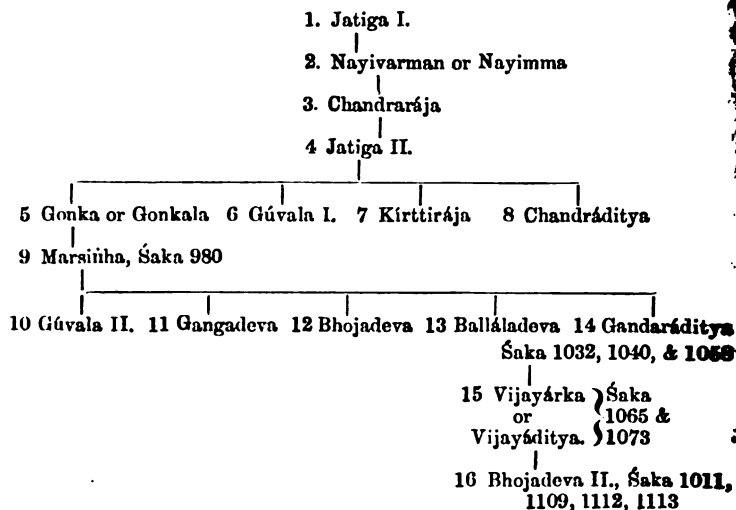


The name of Jatiga is very indistinct in the facsimile. Hence, I suppose, he is called Govantish in the translation. The name of

Gandarāditya is not in the facsimile, but is given in the translation; while that of Vijayāditya is altogether omitted from the translation.

Nos. 6, 7, and 8 relate to grants made by Bhojadeva, the son and successor of Vijayāditya. The dates in these inscriptions are respectively Śaka 1101, 1109, and 1112.

The following is a complete genealogy of the kings of the third branch, as furnished by the above-named inscriptions :—



The capital of the king of this branch was very likely Panhalgaḍh, near Kolhāpur.

The date of the last king of this branch is Śaka 1113. The year of commencement of it can be made out from the date of the ninth king, Marsiṇha, which is Śaka 980 as derived from Wathen's copper-plate. Four kings, including the father and the uncle of Marsiṇha, reigned before him. The joint period of their reigns can at best be taken as sixty years. Prior to these there were four princes, the term of whose reign might have comprised about eighty years; so then if we deduct 140 from 980 we get 840, which is the probable date of the first king.

The Vijayārkadeva of this branch is described on Dr. Taylor's copper-plate as having re-established the sovereignty of the dethroned kings of the province of Sthanaka (Ṭhāṇā) and Goa. This shows

that he restored the lost power of the two branches of his dynasty, viz. the first at Ṭhāṇā, and the second at Goa.

There has not been any trace as to what king of the first branch, which ruled over Ṭhāṇā, was reigning at that place in the time of Vijayārkadeva (Śaka 1073). But a few years later we find the name of Aparāditya, of the first branch, who reigned at the same period with Bhojadeva II., the son of Vijayārkadeva. The gap between Mamvānirāja and Aparāditya in the genealogy of the first branch may be accounted for by the destruction of the sovereign power above alluded to.

ART. II.—*Christianity in the Persian dominions, from its beginning till the fall of the Sasanian dynasty.* By E. REHATSEK.

The Chaldean diocese—Seleucia the capital of which was the first episcopal seat occupied by Maris, whom Thaddæus or Addæus, one of the seventy-two disciples, had sent there—comprised at first a small extent of territory, and depended for some time upon the patriarch of Antioch; afterwards, however, it became not only independent, but so enlarged that it embraced, besides all the countries formerly under the sway of Persia, from Mesopotamia to the extreme boundaries of Turkestán, also China and India.¹

¹ A very old document on the early propagation of Christianity occurs in A. P. de Lagarde's *Reliquie Juris Ecclesiastici Antiquissimæ*, Viennæ, 1856, but it is here inserted from the *Ancient Syriac Documents relative to the earliest Establishment of Christianity*, by the Rev. W. Cureton, D.D., &c., London, 1864, pp. 33-34, and headed "The Doctrine of the Apostles":—

"And by the Hand of Priesthood, which the Apostles themselves had received from the Lord, their Gospel was spread abroad in the four quarters of the world rapidly. And while they visited one another they ministered to each other.

"Jerusalem received the Hand of Priesthood, and all the country of Palestine, and the parts of the Samaritans and the Philistines, and the country of the Arabians, and of Phœnicia, and the people of Cesarea, from James, who was Ruler and Guide in the Church of the Apostles which had been built in Sion.

"The great Alexandria, and Thebais, and the whole of Inner Egypt, and all the country of Pelusium, and even to the borders of the Indians, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from Mark the Evangelist, who was Ruler and Guide there in the church which he had built there, and ministered.

"India, and all its own countries, and those bordering on it, even to the farther sea, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from Judas Thomas, who was Guide and Ruler in the church which he built there, and ministered there.

"Antioch and Syria, and Cilicia, and Galatia, even to Pontus, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from Simon Cephas, who himself laid the foundation of the church there, and was Priest, and ministered there up to the time when he went up from thence to Rome, on account of Simon the Sorcerer, who was deceiving the people of Rome by his sorceries.

"The city of Rome, and all Italy, and Spain, and Britain, and Gaul, together with the other remaining countries which bordered on them, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from Simon Cephas, who went up to Antioch, and

The toparch Abgar,² a contemporary of Christ and a tributary of the Romans,³ founded the city of Edessa, in the part of Mesopotamia called Osroene, and separated from it by the emperor Trajan. This place Abgar fortified, as he probably intended to revolt from the Romans on account of his close relations with Persia, whither he

became Ruler and Guide there in the church which he built there, and in its environs.

"Ephesus and Thessalonica, and all Asia, and all the country of the Corinthians, and of all Achaia and its environs, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from John the Evangelist, who had leaned upon the bosom of the Lord, who built a church there, and was Priest and ministered there in his office of Guide there.

"Nicaea, and Nicomedia, and all the country of Bithynia and of Gothia, and of the regions round about it, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from Andrew, the brother of Simon Cephas, who was Guide and Ruler in the church which he built there, and was Priest and ministered there.

"Byzantium, and the country of Thrace, and its environs, even to the great river, the border which separates between Barbarians, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from Luke the Apostle, who built a church there, and ministered there in his office of Ruler and Guide there.

"Edessa and all its environs which were on all sides of it, and Soba [the same with Nisibis, *Diss. de Syris Nest., Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. II., p. dclxxviii.], and Arabia, and all the north, and the regions round about it, and the south, and all the places of the borders of Mesopotamia, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from Addæus the Apostle, one of the seventy-two Apostles, who taught there and built a church there, and was Priest and ministered there in his office of Guide there.

"The whole of Persia, of the Assyrians and Armenians and Medians, and of the countries round about Babylon, the Huzites and the Gelæ, even to the borders of the Indians, and even the country of Gog and Magog, and again all the countries from all sides, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from Aggæus, a maker of golden chains, the disciple of Addæus the Apostle.

"But the rest of the other followers of the Apostles went to the distant countries of the Barbarians, and taught from place to place, and passed on, and there they ministered with their preaching; there also was their departure out of this world, while their disciples after them continued to go, up to the present day. And there was no change or addition made by them to what they preached.

"But Luke the Evangelist had this diligence, and wrote the Triumphs of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Ordinances and Laws of the ministry of their Priesthood, and whither each one of them went. By this diligence, therefore, Luke wrote these things, and more than these, and he placed them in the hands of Priscus and Aquilas, his disciples; and they accompanied him even up to the day of his death; like as Timothy and Erastus, of Lystra and Menaüs, the first disciples of the Apostles, accompanied Paul until he went up to the city of Rome, because he had withstood the orator Tertullus. And Nero the Emperor slew him with the sword, and Simon Cephas, in the city of Rome."

² Abgar seems to have been a title common to all the toparchs of Edessa: *Ancient Syriac Documents*, Cureton, *Notes*, p. 140. He is always called king by Syriac writers, but Assemani, *Bibl. Or. Clementino Vaticana*, i. 261, says: "*Abgar* hoc prænominis omnes Toparchæ Edesseni appellabantur, non secus ac Imperatores Romani Cæsares."

³ *Moses of Chorene*, bk. II., ch. xxvi., *Ancient Syriac Documents*, edited by W. Cureton, D.D., &c., London, 1864. Moses of Chorene wrote about A.D. 440.

had, according to the accusations of his enemies, such as Pilate, Herod the tetrarch, Lysanias and Philippus, undertaken a journey to apply for troops. Abgar tried to excuse himself, but was not believed; therefore he sent two of his principal officers to Marinus, who was then the governor of Phœnicia, Syria, and Mesopotamia. The deputies found the Roman governor in Eleutheropolis, and were received by him with friendship and distinction. They were sent back with the following reply to Abgar:—"Fear nothing on that account from the emperor, provided thou takest great care to pay the tribute wholly." On their return journey the Armenian deputies, attracted by the rumour of the miracles of Christ, went to Jerusalem, and having become eye-witnesses of them reported what they had seen.

Then Abgar, who had since his return from Persia been afflicted with acute rheumatic pains all over his body, despatched the following letter to Christ* :—

"Abgar Uchama, ^o Chief of the country, to Jesus, the good Deliverer who has appeared in the country of Jerusalem, Peace! I have heard about thee, and about the cures which are wrought by thy hands, without medicines and herbs; for, as it is reported, thou makest the blind to see, and the lame to walk; and thou cleanseest the lepers, and thou castest out unclean spirits and devils, and thou healest those who are tormented with lingering diseases, and thou raisest the dead. And when I heard these things about thee I settled in my mind one of two things,—either that thou art God, who, being come down from heaven, doest these things, or that thou art the Son of God and doest these things. On this account, therefore, I have written to request of thee that thou wouldst trouble thyself to come to me, and cure this disease which I have: for I have also heard that the Jews murmur against thee, and wish to do thee harm. But I have a city, small and beautiful, which is enough for two."

Copy of those things which were written from Jesus by the hand of Hananias the Tabularius, to Abgar, the Chief of the country :—

* This letter is here given, with the reply to it, from the *Ancient Syriac Documents*, edited by Cureton; it is translated from the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. Le Vaillant's French translation is from Moses of Chorene; both give the same meaning. Dr. Cureton says in his *Notes*, p. 155, that the practice of keeping the above letter as a phylactery prevailed in England till the last century, and he has a recollection of having seen the same thing in cottages in Shropshire.

^o Abgar Uchama, i.e. the black, was the 15th toparch: *Chronicon Edessenum*, *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, I. 420.

"Blessed is he that believeth in me, not having seen me. For it is written concerning me that those who see me will not believe in me, and those who have not seen me they will believe and be saved. But touching what thou hast written to me, that I should come to thee, it is meet that I should fulfil here everything for the sake of which I have been sent: and after I have fulfilled it, then I shall be taken up to him that sent me; and when I have been taken up, I will send to thee one of my disciples that he may heal thy disease, and give salvation to thee and to those who are with thee."⁶

The disciple promised to be sent was despatched after the ascension of Christ by Thomas, one of the twelve, to cure Abgar and to preach the Gospel. He was Thaddæus, one of the seventy or seventy-two disciples, whose fame spread soon after his arrival in Edessa, so that Abgar called him to his presence. When Thaddæus entered, Abgar perceived something wonderful in his countenance, got up from the throne, and prostrating himself said, "Art thou really a disciple of the ever blessed Jesus? Art thou he whom he promised to send me, and canst thou cure my maladies?" Thaddæus replied, "Yes, if thou believest in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the wishes of thy heart will be heard." "I have believed in Jesus," said Abgar, "I have believed in his Father; and therefore I intended to march at the head of my troops to exterminate the Jews who have crucified Jesus, had I not been impeded by the power of the Romans."

From that time Thaddæus began to preach to the toparch and the inhabitants of the city; he cured not only Abgar, but all the sick and infirm people, so that Abgar was baptized (A.D. 31⁷), and the whole city with him. The temples of the false gods were shut up, and the statues of idols placed on altars or columns were concealed by veiling them with reeds. Abgar compelled no one by force to embrace the religion, but the number of believers increased day by day.

After his conversion Abgar wrote to the emperor Tiberius informing him of the crucifixion of Jesus, and desiring him to issue orders that Christ should throughout the whole world be adored as the true God. The reply of the emperor was as follows:—

⁶ Concerning this reply the opinion of Assemani (*Bibl. Or.*, I. p. 554) is as follows:—"Christus Dominus non alia ratione eius Epistolæ auctor dici debet quam sermonum evangelicorum, quos proprio quidem ore protulit, literis tamen nequaquam ipse mandavit."

⁷ *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, I. p. 389. Also *Ancient Syriac Documents*, Cureton, *Notes*, p. 147.

"Tiberius, Emperor of the Romans, to Abgar, King of the Armenians, Salutation. Thy gracious letter has been read to me, and I desire thanks to be offered to thee for it on my part. Although we have already heard these facts narrated by several persons, Pilate has officially informed me of the miracles of Jesus. He has certified to us that Jesus has after his resurrection been by several persons acknowledged to be God. Therefore I was also desirous to do what thou proposest; but, as it is customary among the Romans not to admit a god by order of the sovereign alone, before the admission has been discussed and examined in full senate, I was obliged to propose the whole to the Senate, but it was rejected with disdain,—no doubt because the question had not been first examined by the Senate; but we have issued orders that all who choose may receive Jesus among the gods. We have threatened with death every one who might speak evil of Christians. As to the Jewish nation, which has dared to crucify Jesus, who, as I am informed, far from deserving the cross and death, was worthy of the honour and of the adoration of men, I shall, when I am disengaged from the war against Spain, which has revolted, examine the affair, and deal with the Jews as they deserve."⁸

The progress made by Christianity under Abgar was attempted to be checked by his son who succeeded him, who hated the religion and atrociously persecuted its adherents, but came to a miserable end. Sanadrug, the next king, and son of Abgar's sister, was of the same disposition, and the Armenians narrate that during his reign the apostles Bartholomew and Thaddæus were slain.⁹ With this statement also Moses of Chorene¹⁰ agrees, but asserts that after the demise of Abgar the kingdom of Armenia was divided into two parts,—Anamún, the son of Abgar, reigning in Edessa, and Sanadrug, the just-mentioned nephew of Abgar, in Armenia. Sanadrug apostatized from fear of the Armenian satraps; whilst Anamún reopened the temples of the idols, became a pagan, and had the legs of St. Addæus cut off, who immediately expired. St. Bartholomew suffered martyrdom in the town of Arepon, and Simon in Persia. Sanadrug, whom Flavius Josephus, in his *Antiquities of the Jews*, calls Izates, being desirous of becoming the sovereign of the whole of Armenia,

⁸ Moses of Chorene, xxxiii.

⁹ *Chronicon Edessenum*, *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, I, 421.

¹⁰ Ch. xxxiii.

besieged Edessa, which the inhabitants surrendered, with the treasures of Abgar, on condition of being left unmolested in their profession of the Christian religion; but he failed to keep his promise, and also slew all the male offspring of Abgar, sparing only his daughters, whom he exiled to the district of Hashdiank. Helena, the wife of Abgar, being unwilling to dwell in the midst of idolaters, went to Jerusalem during the reign of the emperor Claudius, and there distributed an enormous quantity of corn, which she had bought with all her treasures in Egypt to feed the poor, when a famine raged in Jerusalem, as Josephus also testifies, who, however, likewise asserts that she "embraced Jewish customs."¹¹

Thaddæus on leaving Edessa is said to have preached chiefly at Arbela, which was the capital of Adiabene, at Nisibis, Beth-Garma, and Mosul, whilst his chief coadjutor Maris did so in Babylon, in the adjoining provinces of Persia beyond the Tigris, dwelling, however, chiefly in Seleucia and Ctesiphon,¹² the capital of Persia, where he converted many to the faith, and built several churches, in one of which he was buried. Achis, the other assistant of Thaddæus, went to the south, taught in the province of Ahváz (called Susiana by the Greeks, but at present Khuzistán), and returning to Edessa died there. Afterwards the number of Christians was considerably increased by the prisoners whom the Persians captured in their wars with the Romans, and who being dispersed in various districts of Persia propagated their religion in them. In times of war the government always suspected the Christians of sympathizing with their Roman co-religionists, and not seldom persecuted them on that account; whilst the Romans were in their turn apprehensive that Persian Christians coming among them did so as spies. One example of this estrangement between the Persian and the Roman Christians occurred very early, namely, when the successors of Maris in Seleucia were under the necessity of coming up to Antioch for ordination, which custom could not be kept up, because Demetrius, the patriarch of that city, had, after ordaining Ahad-Abovia, *i.e.* Jabachue, who was the sixth or eighth Catholicus of Seleucia, on that account been denounced to the Roman governor of Syria as a traitor to the republic and a friend to the Persians. Ahad-Abovia indeed saved himself by flight to Jerusalem, but his companion

¹¹ *Antiq. of the Jews*, bk. xx., ch. i. 1.

¹² Usually called *The two cities*, المدائين Al-Madayn.

Kam-Jesus, with his host, who was also a priest, was crucified in front of the Church of the Apostles; wherefore the patriarchs of Antioch, dreading further repetitions of similar calamities, henceforth allowed the Persian bishop of Seleucia to be ordained among his own people, and so become the vicegerent of the patriarch of Antioch in the more remote East likewise. For this reason the bishop of Seleucia was surnamed *Catholicus* (Καθολικός), whereby they intended to designate a procurator-general.¹³

Christianity flourished in Edessa side by side with paganism, the

¹³ *Oriens Christianus* of Le Quien, II. p. 1079.—The synodic letter despatched on the above occasion from the Occidental to the Oriental patriarchs, proceeds after the preamble as follows:—"Accordingly we, the pastors, admonished by the persecution we suffer, recall to our minds the words of the scripture which says, There will be no measure to tribulation, chiefly to us who are Christians; so that at the same time the innocent blood of two Fathers was shed, which has shocked the whole earth, and has filled with mourning the Occidental as well as the Oriental Church. After these two Fathers, the one being of the West and the other of the East, had perished,—both were, namely, hanged at the gate of the Church of the Apostles in Antioch,—it is considered proper by our brothers and by ourselves, lest our Christian brothers living in the East should remain orphans, that whenever the great Metropolitan who holds in Seleucia, the royal city of the Arsacides, the government of the whole East, dies, no Metropolitan is to come up to Antioch in order to receive his ordination, according to the ancient custom, lest hereafter the innocent blood of prelates should be shed, on account of discord and hatred among kings, as has happened in this our age; we have, namely, beheld a sad and lamentable spectacle, namely, two Fathers hanging naked on two crosses; wherefore a tempest of persecution arose simultaneously both in the East and in the West." Afterwards instructions are given how the Catholicus or Patriarch is to be elected, he being in all things the father and ordinator of the metropolitans as well as of the bishops, who are, however, not to give judgment against him, this judicial function being reserved for his equals, i. e. the other three patriarchs, the whole number of whom, governing the entire Christian world, amounted at that time to four only. "But," says the document, "if it ever should happen that the government [of the Persians] is at peace with us, the government itself is to give judgment, and the case of the patriarch is to be decided by the mandate of the king." When the Christian sects became estranged from each other, it was asserted by some that this letter had been fabricated by the Nestorians, who are said to have made use of it as a privilege to justify their defection from the Catholic Church and from the patriarch of Antioch; Assemani himself believed that it had been concocted by the Nestorian patriarch Josephus, who had A.D. 552, been appointed by Nushirvan, and who died A.D. 566. (*Bibl. Or. Ass.* III., pt. 1., p. 58.) The Nestorians believe that their doctrines are the most ancient, and have never changed since the times of the Apostles, and that therefore they are the most orthodox of all Christian sects. Nestorius, as will be mentioned further on, was a contemporary of his greatest antagonist, Cyrillus, after whom another sect was named, but he lived ninety years before Jacobus, and therefore the Nestorian sect is also in this respect older than that of the Jacobites. Nestorius and Cyrillus anathematized each other, but the former spontaneously abdicated and went into exile, whilst the latter retained the patriarchal seat, with his doctrine, by the aid of the Empress, the wife of Theodosius. When the doctrines of Nestorius reached the East the Christians there found them to be entirely the same with those handed down to and followed by them from the times of the Apostles.

adherents of which always took opportunity to persecute its professors when the government happened to favour paganism. Thus, for instance, in the fifteenth year of the emperor Trajan, which corresponds to A.D. 112, Barsamya, the bishop of the Christians, converted and baptized Sharbil, who had been the high-priest of the idols, and was accused to Lysanias the judge. Lysanias sent by night for Sharbil, had him taken from the church, and said, "Let nails be driven in between the eyes of the rebel, and let him go to that world which he is looking for," and the executioners did so.¹⁴ Barsamya was accused to the judge in the following terms:—"We give information before your lordship respecting Barsamya, the Guide of the Christians, that he went up to Sharbil the high-priest, as he was standing and ministering before the gods, who are to be honoured, and sent and called him secretly; and he spoke to him out of the books which he reads in the church of their place of assembly, and he repeated to him the faith of the Christians, and said to him, 'It is not right for thee to worship many gods, but rather one God only, and his Son Jesus Christ,' until he converted and made him renounce the gods which he had formerly worshipped; and by the means of Sharbil himself many have also been converted and are gone down to the church, and to this day they confess Christ. Avida also, and Nebo, and Barenba, and Hassai, honourable and chief persons of the city, have yielded to Sharbil in this; we therefore, as being the Sharirs of the city, make this known before your lordship, in order that we may not subject ourselves to punishment as offenders, because we had not made known before your lordship what things had been spoken in secret to Sharbil by Barsamya the Guide of the Church. Now, therefore, your lordship knoweth what is right to command respecting this same thing." After this accusation legal proceedings were instituted by the judge, who examined witnesses, and the prisoner Barsamya having been scourged was condemned to "be hanged up and torn by combs." At that moment, however, a letter arrived, which Dr. Cureton considers to be probably the most authentic copy of the edict of Trajan respecting the stopping of the persecution of the Christians.¹⁵ The text of the edict is this:—"Since our Majesty gave orders that there should be a persecution of the Christians, we have heard and learned from our Sharirs which we have

¹⁴ *Ancient Syriac Documents*, pp. 41 *et seq.*

¹⁵ *Notes to Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 186.

in the countries of the dominion of our Majesty that the people of the Christians are men who avoid murder, and sorcery, and adultery, and theft, and bribery, and fraud, and those things for which even the laws of our Majesty require punishment from such as do them: therefore, by the justice of our Rectitude, we have given command that on account of these things the persecution of the sword should cease for them, and that there should be rest and quietness in all our dominions, they continuing to minister according to their custom, and that no man should hinder them. But it is not that we show affection towards them, but towards their laws, which agree with the laws of our Majesty; and if any man hinder them after this our decree, that sword which is ordered by us to pass upon those who neglect our decree, the same have we ordered to pass upon those who slight this decree of our Clemency."¹⁶ After the reading of this decree the city of Edessa rejoiced; the judge immediately released Barsamya, and the people received him with exceeding honour, repeating psalms before him according to their custom, thronged upon him, saluted him, and called him the Persecuted Confessor, friend of Sharbil the martyr. Christianity gradually radiated further from Edessa into Persia, but the whole of Armenia was christianized only under Persian vassalage in the beginning of the fourth century. The growth of the religion was also promoted by the blood of martyrs who died for it, as will appear further on.

The emperor Trajan died five years after the events just described, namely, in the beginning of August A.D. 117; they appear to have taken place during the reign of Maanes the son of Ajazeta, who was the 22nd Abgar or toparch of Edessa, and successor of Parnataspates or Parthamaspatas. This Abgar, being equally afraid of the Parthians and the Romans, was unwilling to meet Trajan when he was in Antioch, but sent him legates with presents; so that Trajan saw the Abgar for the first time when he himself came to Edessa, where he was received with many honours and feasted in a banquet, during which the Abgar caused his own son to perform a dance for the amusement of the emperor.¹⁷ Also Pagius shows that Trajan marched A.D. 112 to the East, to wage war against the Armenians and Parthians, and during the same year received the presents of the Abgar in Antioch; the war having lasted through A.D. 113 and 114,

¹⁶ *Ancient Syriac Documents*, pp. 63-70.

¹⁷ *Bibl. Or Ass.*, II. p. 422.

Trajan came to Edessa A.D. 115, where he saw the Abgar for the first time, after having conquered the whole of Armenia. When, however, Trajan marched against the Parthians, this same Abgar sided with them, wherefore Lucius, a general of Trajan, occupied Edessa and slew very many Christians. In 116, when after the capture of Nisibis the fleeing Parthians crossed the Tigris, and the Romans had conquered the whole of Adiabene, they marched to Babylon. After sacking Ctesiphon, Trajan assumed the title of Parthicus, and installed Parthamaspatēs, on whose head he placed a diadem, as the king of the Parthians; but, being detested by his subjects, the latter was deposed as soon as they were informed that Trajan had, on his journey to Italy, expired at the town of Selinus, in Cilicia, and they reinstalled their former king, Chosroes.¹⁵

After Chosroes had again begun to reign he restored tranquillity also to the churches, which were governed during twenty-one years by Jacobus the archbishop of Seleucia, where he also died and was buried, A.D. 139. Jacobus was the son of his predecessor Abraham, and was like him raised simultaneously through all the orders of priesthood: which circumstance is, however, contested by Assemani, on the plea that A'mru had invented it only in order to cloak the practice observed by his own sect, as it is contrary to all the sacred canons. Jacobus was succeeded by his own son Ahad-Abovia,¹⁶ who governed the church during fifteen years, but after his demise the seat remained vacant three or more years. It has already been mentioned above that after his time the Catholicus of Persia was no longer ordained in Antioch, and the manner of doing so was as follows:—The bishop of Cascara proceeded to Seleucia, to take temporary charge of the widowed church, as soon as the Catholicus of Persia died, and invited by letter six or eight metropolitans to proceed to a new election. These prepared themselves by fasting and prayer in the church Dir Elkam, with the other clergy and the chief men of the laity. This assembly proposed certain candidates, whose number being finally reduced to three, their names were written on three papers, a fourth being inserted with the name of Christ as the chief pastor. These four slips of paper being folded into balls were placed under the altar, on which the

¹⁵ *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. II., pp. xl, xli.

¹⁶ A'mru says that this is a Syriac word meaning "brother of his father," because he resembled him very much: — *وهو اسم سرياني وتفسيره: أخو أبيه لأنه كان أشبه الناس بابيه*

sacred liturgy was celebrated. Then a little boy was made to pull out one ball; if it contained the name of a candidate he was proclaimed Catholicus, but if the name of Christ appeared on the paper none of the three were considered worthy, and the same process was gone over with three other candidates, and repeated until one was elected.

There appears to be some uncertainty about the period of the incumbency of Shaculfa, whom A'mru brings down to the reign of Shápúr I.,²⁰ which would make an interval of more than 70 years between him and his predecessor Ahad-Abovia. Assemani, who spells the name of Shaculfa in the Italian fashion, 'Sciachlupha,' states that he became Catholicus A.D. 162 and died A.D. 182. If we do not consider Shaculfa as the immediate successor of Ahad-Abovia, but the predecessor of Papas, which is just as probable, A'mru, who makes Schaculfa die in the fourth year of Shápúr the son of Ardashir, cannot be much at fault, because Papas presided over the church of Seleucia from A.D. 247 till 326. Assemani also calls Abgar the son of the above-mentioned Maanes, the 29th toparch, and states that he reigned from A.D. 200 till 217, and that he was an adherent of the Christian religion.²¹

In the beginning of the third century of our era, a revolution took place in Persia, in consequence of which the Sasanians came into power, and with them enmity towards the Armenians, whose kings were of the same race with those dethroned in Persia. Chosroes, the king of Armenia, marched against the Persians as soon as he learnt that Ardavan, the last Arsacide sovereign of Persia had been attacked by Ardashir, whom he in his turn assailed and defeated, but fell at last by the knife of an assassin. Accordingly Ardashir, thus delivered from a powerful antagonist, invaded and conquered Armenia (A.D. 232), which remained subject to Persia 27 years under him and Shápúr I., his son. Tiridates,²² the son of Chosroes (Khosru), was taken to Rome when an infant, and returning as a man recovered the kingdom from the Persians by the aid of the Romans; he died after reigning for the long period of 51 years.

²⁰ Began to reign A.D. 240.

²¹ *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. II., p. xli.

²² *Dertad* in Armenian.

Under the predecessors of Tiridates the Armenians followed a religion which was no doubt the same as that of the Parthians, *i.e.* probably a mixture of Zoroastrianism, of Greek mythology, and of some other doctrines brought by their ancestors from Scythia. In their temples numerous idols could be seen, to which animal sacrifices, never in vogue among Zoroastrians, were offered. The latter, it would appear, admitted during that period only the *Zervana akarana*, or 'time without bounds,' which the Greeks translated by *Saturn*, as their chief deity,²³ whilst the Armenians considered Ormuzd

²³ This belief is represented in the ordinance of Mihr-Nersch, the Persian governor of Armenia, addressed to the princes of that country. It was, as will afterwards appear, issued somewhat later than the period just now under discussion, being published A.D. 412, but it may suitably be inserted in this place. It is taken from the history of Elisæus on the wars of the general Vartan, composed in the 5th century, and therefore contemporaneous with the events described. Ch. ii., pp. 23-25 :—

" Mihr-Nersch to the great governors and to the princes of Great Armenia, salutation !

" You know that every man who dwells under the sky and follows not the religion of the Masdaiasians is deaf, blind, and deceived by the burning serpent of the Devs. Ere the heavens and the earth existed, the Great God Zervana made a prayer a hundred years ago and said, ' Perhaps a son will be born unto me, called Ormuzd, who will make the heavens and the earth.' Hereupon he conceived two infants in his womb, the one to make prayers, the other to say ' perhaps.' When he knew that both were in his womb, he said, ' He who will come the soonest, I will give him the empire.' He who had been conceived in unbelief burst his womb and issued forth. Zervana asked him, ' Who art thou ? ' ' Thy son Ormuz,' replied he. ' My son is brilliant with light and spreads a sweet odour,' answered Zervana, ' whilst thou art black and a friend of evil.' But, as he cried very bitterly, his father gave him the empire for a thousand years and called him Ahriman. Then he begat another son, whom he called Ormuzd, and taking away the empire from Ahriman gave it to him, saying, ' This day I address my prayer to thee, address also thine to me.' Hereupon Ormuzd created heaven and earth ; but Ahriman, on the contrary, created evil. The creatures were divided in the same manner : the Angels come from Ormuzd, and the Devs from Ahriman ; all the good which comes from heaven or from earth likewise proceeds from Ormuzd, and every evil spreading here and there comes in the same way from Ahriman. Whatever good exists in heaven is made by Ormuzd, and whatever is evil originates from Ahriman. All the hatreds and misfortunes which happen, and all disastrous wars, are effects of this wicked party ; but, on the contrary, happy things—empire, glory, celebrity, health of body, beauty of countenance, truthful speech, and long life—originate from the good principle, and whatever is thus proceeds from it. But evil commingles itself with everything. All men who say that God has created death, and that good and evil come from him, are mistaken ; as for instance the Christians, who say that God, having been irritated because his servant ate a fig, created death, and chastised man by this punishment. Thus God is liable to become angry, and, although not a man, has something in common with man. Moreover, although he is God he is assimilated to men ; therefore it may reasonably be said that he who speaks thus is deaf, blind, and deceived by the serpent of the Devs. Then another

(Jupiter), Anahid (Venus), Mihir or Mithra (the sun), as the most powerful; they adored also Sbantarad, Vahaku, Parsham, Nané, and many other deities very little known to us. Tiridates, who had been converted by St. Gregory, embraced Christianity, which he had for a long time persecuted, before Constantine had become master of the Roman empire. The greater portion of his magnates and of his people followed his example. He called to his states many Greek and Syrian priests, who founded bishoprics, monasteries, and churches, and spread the Christian religion in all the provinces of Armenia. It was, however, necessary to fight sanguinary battles in order to establish it throughout the whole kingdom, but especially in the Daron country, which was by the Armenians considered a holy land on account of the multitude of temples it contained. There polytheistic priests defended themselves with great obstinacy; only by the sword could they be driven away, and churches founded. After Constantine had likewise embraced the Christian religion, and it became dominant in the Roman empire, the alliance uniting the latter for a long time to Armenia became still closer; but this change also furnished the kings of Persia with more than one pretext to carry fire and sword into Armenia, whither they were invited by the princes who had not abandoned the religion of their ancestors, and who con-

error has come, which is that of the people who say, 'God, who has made the heavens and the earth, has come, and was born of a certain woman called Mary, whose husband's name was Joseph;' and many persons have been deceived by this man. Yourselves, likewise, why do you follow their senseless errors? Embrace, therefore, the religion of your master; embrace it, for we have an account to render of you to God. Do not believe in your chiefs, whom you call Nazareans, because they are great rogues, and teach you by their words, but with their acts they do nothing. 'To eat meat,' say they, 'is not sin;' nevertheless they eat none. 'To take a wife is a proper thing,' say they again; but they do not even wish to look at any woman. According to them, those who accumulate riches commit a great sin. They praise poverty much more than riches; they boast of it and injure the rich; they insult the name of luck, and mock those who are covered with glory. They like coarse garments, and prefer vile things to those which are honourable. They praise death and despise life; they disdain to beget a human being, and praise barrenness. If you listen to them and no longer approach women, the end of the world will soon come. I do not wish to attack in this writing everything they say; but they have written the most detestable thing of all we have said, namely, that God was crucified by men, that he died, was buried, rose again, and ascended to heaven. Would it not be unworthy of you to make a reply to opinions so detestable? The Devs, who are wicked, cannot be taken and tormented by men, and it should be so with God, the creator of all creatures. It is shameful for us and for you to listen to things so unworthy of belief. Two things only remain to be done by you: either to make a reply article by article; or to make it and then to come to the court, that we may be in the midst of a great tribunal."

sidered their sovereign to be an apostate. This is the cause why Armenia was for a long time distracted by religious wars.

Ardashir was (A.D. 240) succeeded by Shápúr I., who injured the Romans greatly by conquering the whole of Mesopotamia, and Antioch the capital of Syria; but Gordianus III. retook the just-mentioned city, and compelled the Persians to retrace their steps from Syria to their own country, reached Nisibis, and would certainly have besieged Ctesiphon had not Philippus treacherously slain him (A.D. 244) on the frontiers of Persia. When Philippus concluded peace with the Persians, the above-named Papas, or Paphas, is stated to have occupied the episcopal seat of Seleucia, to which he had been elected A.D. 247, and which he occupied till 326, *i.e.* during the extraordinary space of 79 years, embracing the reigns of eight kings, namely, Shápúr I., Hormuzd I., Behráh I., II., and III., Nersi, Hormuzd II., and Shápúr II., who instituted a great persecution of the Christians, which lasted forty of the seventy years of his reign (from 309 to 379).

Papas was a native of E'rāk, but according to others of Persia, and was well acquainted both with the Greek and Persian languages. After Constantine had become the Roman emperor and had made his profession of the Christian religion, he convoked in the twentieth year of his reign, *i. e.* A.D. 325, the Nicæan synod,²⁴ consisting of

²⁴ That the Christian religion must have attained considerable extension in Persia when this council was held appears from the circumstance of its decreeing the seat of Seleucia and Ctesiphon to be the first after the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. *Arab canon* 33 of Franciscus Turrianus:—

ويكرم ايضا صاحب كرسي سليقيه اعني ملى الذي ببلاد المشرق
وهي المدائن ويكون هذا ايضا يسمى باسم القاتوليقوس ويوزن له
الان ان يطرطن المطارنه كما يصنع البطارك ليلا يتادي المشرقيون في
مضيهم الي بطريرك انطاكية في حوائجهم اوفي انصرافهم من عنده
ويجدوا الوثنيين فيهم السبيل لاضرارهم لان بطريرك انطاكية قد رضي
بذلك بعد ان طلبت اليه الجماعة ليلا يقم بما صرف عنه من سلطان
المشرق لانه انما التمس بهذا الامر سوا ادخال الراحة علي النصارى
ببلاد فارس

"Let also the incumbent of the seat of Seleucia in the East, namely, of Almadayn, be honoured in the same manner; his title is also to be that of Catholicus, and he is now permitted to ordain the Metropolitans, as Patriarchs do, lest the Orientals should, in their journey to the Patriarch of Antioch, or in their departure from him, suffer injury when they are consulting him in their affairs, and lest the polytheists should gain opportunities to hurt them; because the Patriarch of Antioch has consented thereto, after being requested

308 fathers; at that time Papas, being very old, sent to it his disciple Simeon Barsaboe, who became afterwards his successor, to represent him. In the life of St. Milles, bishop of Susa, he is, during his visit to the Aramæans, said to have found the church of Seleucia and Ctesiphon divided by the darkest schisms, and Papas a victim to intolerable pride and ambition, showing supreme contempt towards the priests who had assembled in an Oriental council, nine years after the above-mentioned one of Nicæa, to investigate his case; but according to the dates given before he ought at that time have been dead several years. He is said to have been convicted in this Oriental council of having perpetrated many crimes, the commission of which he was unable to deny; nevertheless he struck the book of the Gospels with his clenched hand and exclaimed, "Speak, Evangel, as words are failing me!" and for this impious act his hand became immediately withered.²⁵ A'mru takes quite a different view of this Catholicus, and calls him a saint; he says, "During the time of this father there were a number of doctors who attacked the followers of Simon, of Marcion, of Mani, and of others. When the king [Shápúr II.] saw that primates and bishops abstained from marriage, and that the Manichæans, who were of the sect of Mani [he was born about A.D. 240 in Persia], likewise did not marry, he ordered the Manichæans to be killed; but the mandate operated also on the Christians, wherefore St. Papas the patriarch suffered great hardships. Hereupon the Christians complained to the king, who wished to know the difference between the two. St. Papas replied that the Manichæans believed in two gods, in the earth having life, in the transmigration of souls from one body to another, and considered marriage to be a defilement; whereas Christians believe in one God and approve of marriage, but that the heads of the Church abstain therefrom in order to be more diligent in prayer, and not to be diverted by anything. The king approved of this reply and stopped the persecution."²⁶

by the synod not to be dismayed by his loss of authority in the East; as in this matter the only object was to procure tranquillity for the Christians abiding in Persia."

²⁵ *Oriens Christianus*, tom. II., p. 1108.

²⁶ و كان في ايام هذا الاب عدد من الالفنة يقاومون اهل سيمون ومرقيون وماني وغيرهم والملك فلما شاهد الجثالة و الاساقفة لا يتزوجون والمناوية على مذهب ماني لا يتزوجون ايضا امر بقتل المناوية وتعدى الامر الى النصاري ولحق مار فافا الفطربوك اذيه عظيمه وتظلم النصاري الي الملك واوجب ان يعرف الفرق فاجاب

During the reign of Shápúr II., Manes, the founder of the Manichæan heresy, made his appearance in Persia and propagated his tenets. St. Euphanius and Photius state that Manes had (A.D. 261) been confuted in a disputation with and by Archelaus the bishop of Cascara, whilst other authors place his career in a somewhat lower period. He is said to have either been unable to cure the son of Shápúr II., or to have actually killed him by wrong medical treatment; wherefore he fled, but was at last captured and flayed alive, according to St. Epiphanius, and even according to Mirkhond. Theocritus²⁷ states that Manes wished to be considered the Paraclete, as also Mirkhond affirms, and had twelve apostles, according to the example of Christ; knowing also that the Syrian inhabitants of Mesopotamia acknowledged Addæus and Thomas to be their apostles, he sent men bearing these names to them to preach his doctrines. Manes promulgated tenets professed partly by Christians, by Zoroastrians, and by Buddhists, but is in the *Shahnamah* called a Chinese; there he is also said to have been vanquished in disputations by Mobeds, and lastly to have been flayed alive by order of the king; nothing, however, is said there about his unsuccessful cure of Shápúr's son, and only a short account is given of him.

Besides the long persecution of forty years, alluded to above, which began in the 31st year of the reign of Shápúr II., i.e. A.D. 340, there appears to have been also an earlier one, in the 18th year of his reign, i.e. A.D. 237, and another in the 30th, neither of which had, however, yet been sanctioned by royal proclamations. The sufferings of the martyrs who perished on those occasions were described by Isaias Adabi, a noble knight at the court of Shápúr II., in a work still existing in Syriac, in which he says: "In the 18th year of the reign of Shápúr this king of Persia excited a severe persecution against the Church of Christ. He demolished temples, set monasteries on fire, and oppressed the Christians with the heaviest burdens; he was, namely, endeavouring to turn them away from the

مارفانا بان المانوية يعتقدون الالهين والارض ذات حياة والانفس
ننتقل من جسم الي اخر ويرون التزويج نجس والنعاري يعترفون
بالة واحد و يبرون التزويج و انما يمتنع الروسا سياسة ليواظبوا
الصلوات ولا يكون لهم شي يشغلهم فاستحسن الملك الجواب وكف

(Bibl. Or. Ass., tom. III., pt. 1., p. 220.) عه

²⁷ *Oriens Christianus*, tom. II., p. xxix.

religion of God, the creator of all." With reference to the year mentioned in this passage, Assemani observes ^{27a} that as Syriac, Greek, and Latin writers place the beginning of the first year of the persecution in the 31st year of Shápúr, there must have been two,—the one to be computed from the period when the Christian religion had not yet been proscribed by any royal edict, and the second after the issue thereof. He believes that the persecution under Shápúr first began at the instigation of the Magi, who omitted no occasion of attacking the Christian religion in the capital itself, where Isaias wrote, and that afterwards the conflagration was spread from it, by general edicts, all over the Persian dominions. This second and long persecution appears to have exceeded the first one in cruelty, inasmuch as Shápúr and his prefects often compelled Christians to slay their own co-religionists. In this manner Isaac the bishop and Uhanas the priest were stoned by the Seleucian Christians, who had been forced to commit the impious act; in this way Jacobus the presbyter and Maria, a holy virgin, were slain by Mahdad, and Barhadbeshaba the deacon by Aghæus. Oriental Christians so religiously abstained from eating blood that they considered any person doing so to have abandoned the faith.²⁸ In order to escape death, the persecutors required three things from Christians,—namely, to deny Christ, to worship the sun, fire, and water, and lastly to eat blood.

From the following account concerning the martyrs who suffered death during the long persecution, it would appear that it was not a continuous one, as only the names of those who perished during the first seven years of it are given in regular succession, and then a gap occurs till the 15th year, after which only those of three more years—namely, the 23rd, 26th, and 40th—are given;²⁹ accordingly the number of years in which martyrs were slain during the long persecution of forty is reduced to eleven years only; although if it be considered that more than 16,000 male and female martyrs were slain, besides innumerable multitudes of other Christians,³⁰ and that authors have written on the subject, it would not have been difficult to record victims during the omitted years, had there been any.

^{27a} *Bibl. Or.*, I. 16-17.

²⁸ See *Lev.* iii. 17; vii. 26, 27; xvi. 14; xix. 26; *Deut.* xii. 16, 23; xv. 23, &c.

²⁹ *Bibl. Or.*, I. 185 *et seq.*

³⁰ Sozomenes, *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, lib. ii., cap. 14, *apud Ass. Bibl. Or.*, I. 1.

1st year.—Simeon Barsaboe, bishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon,³¹ suffered death with the presbyters Abdechallas and Ananias during this year, which was the 31st of Shápúr.³² It has already been mentioned that Simeon Barsaboe was the disciple and afterwards the successor of Papas, during whose lifetime he had been ordained and elected by the synod assembled at Seleucia in order to reduce him to order. Papas cursed him and insisted that his transgression should not be condoned; but the fathers who had come from the West, i.e. the Antiochian district, pardoned him. Simeon was afterwards accused of having converted some Magi, and of having baptized the mother of the king; wherefore Shápúr slew, at the instigation of the Jews, more than 600 laymen, deacons, and priests, among whom was also Simeon,³³ who being engaged in confirming Pusices Karogabar, the prefect of the king's artificers, in the faith, whilst under torture and vacillating, was immediately taken and slain, together with his virgin daughter. On the same day also Guhastazades, the foster-brother of the king, was slain, and the massacre lasted for ten days, during which multitudes of Christians were killed. During this year also Milles, the bishop of Susa, was thrown into prison in the town of Maheldagdar by Hormisdas Guphrizus, with Abrosimus the presbyter and Sinas the deacon, where all three, being first tortured, suffered martyrdom. Milles was stabbed to death by Guphrizus and Narses, the brother of the latter, whilst Abrosimus and Sinas were stoned.

2nd year.—On the anniversary of the massacre of the preceding year,—namely, the Jewish Sabbath eve, the 13th or 14th Nisan (1st April),—a cruel edict was published by which all Christians were condemned to death. On this occasion Shahdost ('friend of the king'), whom the Chaldæans more frequently call Jesudost ('friend of Jesus'), suffered martyrdom; he was the successor and nephew of Simeon, but had been elected and consecrated secretly. He was captured

³¹ Also in the *Shahnamah* Ctesiphon is mentioned as the residence of Shápúr, and always spelt Tyskún طيسقون

³² *Oriens Christianus*, II. 1107.—Le Quien, Assemani, and A'mru all agree that this was in the 31st year of Shápúr, and as he began to reign A.D. 309 it must have been A.D. 340, but would according to their reckoning have been about four years later, as they give the Greek year 655 as their date, from which the year of our era is obtained by subtracting 311. Small differences of this kind are, however, of no great importance, considering the period under discussion, and will not be further alluded to.

³³ *Ibid.*

with 128 companions and despatched to Shápúr, who kept him for five months in a squalid prison, where he became extremely emaciated, but was after that taken to the town of Lapethum (Beth Lapet) and beheaded. Barsebias the Archimandrite was made prisoner with ten of his companions who were monks, and killed by the sword, after his legs had first been broken. With these men also one of the Magi, who had become an adherent of Barsebias, was slain.

3rd year.—No others besides Daniel the presbyter and the virgin Varda are mentioned. They were beheaded, after having been tortured in various ways.

4th year.—Not less than three bishops and other persons of high standing became martyrs during this year. Those three bishops were presiding over churches whose names are not given; all are, however, said to have been in the province of Seleucia, and not in the capital, which was the seat of the Catholicus. Joannes, the first of them, was slain in the village of Hasin, by order of Ardashir, a cousin of Shápúr and governor of Adiabene, who caused also the second, namely, bishop Shápúr, to be beaten in prison until he died, and his head to be cut off and brought, in order to be certain that he had perished. The third, Isaac, was stoned in the town of Nicator by the false Christians of the same place, whom Ardashir had compelled to this act. Ardashir ordered also another Isaac, presbyter of the village of Hulsar, to be stoned in the same manner; Papa, the presbyter of Helmin, to be killed in Galal; and Uhanas, a young cleric, to be stoned by Seleucian Christian women, whom he commanded to do so; and his own eunuch was slain in Seleucia by the wicked apostate Vantaranes, who had been presbyter of the village of Salucana. It is pretty clear that Sozomenes ³⁴ means this eunuch whom Maruthas calls Guhasta-zades, ³⁵ and only truncates the first part of his name when he says, "Further, when all the Christians were slain most unmercifully, many suffered death in the palace itself; and among these was Azades, the eunuch most beloved by the king, whom when Shápúr saw killed he was struck with incredible grief."

Among the women who suffered martyrdom was Bauta, one of the noblest ladies of Seleucia, whom the prefect Adargusnasaph caused to be dashed against her own house. By order of the same officer also the Seleucian virgins Tela and Dana were executed, whilst he had others

³⁴ Lib. ii., cap. 11.

³⁵ *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, I. 189.

such as Taton, Mama, Mazachia, and Ana, carried beyond the limits of the city to a place called Hevara and slain there; but the virgins Abiat, Hati, and Mamlachu, from the Garamæan country, suffered martyrdom by order of king Shápúr II.

5th year.—In Seleucia 120 martyrs were killed by the sword on the 6th Nisan in the 35th year of Shápúr. Among these there were nine virgins, the others being presbyters, deacons, and clerics of various orders. All these persons had, whilst in prison, been fed during six months at the expense of Yazdandukht ('daughter of God'), the most noble lady in Adiabene, and when they were executed she got them buried, five at a time. When, passing over all others, only priests and teachers of the Christian religion had begun to be captured by order of Shápúr, the Magi and their agents travelled all over the Persian dominions, carefully ferreting out bishops and presbyters, whom they harassed, but chiefly in the districts of Adiabene, which were mostly inhabited by Christians.

6th year.—Barbashemin or Barbasimes³⁶ was after Sháhdost the Catholicus of Seleucia and Ctesiphon. Being taken with sixteen others and deported to Ledan, all of them were beheaded. He is said by A'mru to have governed the church during seven years, but the bishopric remained vacant after him for twenty years, till the death of Shápúr, on account of the persecution ordered by an edict, a portion of which is here given from Maruthas³⁷:—"Let every one who loves me and desires my reign understand that he is to take measures that there should be no Christian known by name within his boundaries, or dwelling in his district, without adoring the sun, worshipping fire and water, and eating the blood of animals. Let every one who refuses to do these things be surrendered to the magistrates, be tortured by their orders and perish." Since in this as in the preceding year, in spite of this severe edict levelled at all Christians, priests appear to have been the men whose persecution was chiefly aimed at, it is not surprising that Barbashemin assiduously warned the monks and bishops to change their garments for those used by the laity, which was done. In spite of this persecution several monasteries were built, and during the lifetime of Barbashemin, Kardágh, the small king of Beth-Garma, was converted to Christianity, but lost his life during

³⁶ Meaning in Syriac 'one with four names,' analogous to the Arabic

باربع اسم

³⁷ *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, I. 191.

the 49th year of Shápúr's reign. Martyrs are said to have been very numerous during this year, but their names are not given.

7th year.—Jacobus, the presbyter of the village of Tela-Shalila, perished during this year, with his virgin sister Maria, by order of Narses Tamsapor, who compelled a noble Christian, Mahdad, to slay them, because they refused to eat blood and to deny Christ. The impious apostate Paul, who had formerly been a presbyter, slew during this year Tecla with four other virgins, by order of the same Narses.

15th year.—Bardeshaba, deacon of the town of Arbel, was beheaded at the command of Shápúr-Tamsapor the prefect, who compelled Aghæus, one of the most noble Christians of the place, to perform the act.

23rd year.—About nine thousand men and women were captured after taking the Roman fort Bezabde, on the Tigris, called by them Zebedæum or Zabdæum. Among the prisoners was Heliodorus, the bishop of the place,³⁸ with Dausas and Mariab, presbyters, and Hebedyesu ('servant of Jesus,' عبید یسوع) the deacon. Heliodorus, being very sick in a place called Stacarta, ordained Dausas to succeed him as bishop, and died. When the multitude of captives was distributed throughout various towns of Persia, Dausas, Mariab, and Hebedyesu were, with two hundred and ninety-seven men and women, carried to Mount Masebdan, near the village of Gapheta, where the prefect, Adarphar, inflicted exquisite tortures on them, and beheaded them all except twenty-five men and women, who escaped death by worshipping the sun.

36th year.—The principal persons who suffered martyrdom during this year were forty in number, namely, two bishops, sixteen presbyters, nine deacons, six monks, and seven virgins, whose names are given. In this year also Bademus the Archimandrite was taken with seven monks and disciples from the monastery which he had built near Lapetha (Beth Lapet) and brought to Shápúr, at whose command he was slain, because he refused to abjure Christianity, by Narses the proprietor of Arium, in the district of Garmæa (Betgerme),—who had, from fear of being deprived of his possessions, apostatized from the Christian religion. The monks were, however, liberated after the demise of Shápúr, after having been tormented during four years in a squalid prison.

³⁸ This is, no doubt, the bishop alluded to by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, —bk. xx., ch. vii.

40th year.—This is the last year of the persecution and of the reign of Shápúr. The names of priests who suffered martyrdom are given, and the chief of these appears to have been the bishop Acepsimas; none, however, of the laity are mentioned as having perished for the faith.

It may be observed that the whole persecution just noticed was chiefly confined to the provinces of Persia for the possession of which Shápúr contended during a portion of his long reign, namely, to the districts from Edessa down to Ctesiphon, embracing a part of Armenia and the whole of Mesopotamia, so that the Christian martyrs were considered to favour the views of their Roman co-religionists, and to be disloyal to the Persian government; accordingly they were liable to be persecuted also on that score, which would considerably modify, if not altogether invalidate, the assumption that the persecution was exclusively of a religious character. On the other hand, it is also to be taken into account that although the Persian Christians must have had many friends among their Roman co-religionists, especially as the bonds of affectionate fellowship among Christians were in those days, when they really existed, much closer and warmer than in our times, the Roman government itself was of an eminently pagan character, in spite of the protection Constantine the Great, the first Christian emperor, who died A.D. 337, had extended to the Christians, and whose son Constantine gave way to cruelty and oppression; nor can there be any doubt about the cousin of the latter, Julian, who, on succeeding him (A.D. 361), immediately disclosed his religious sentiments, publicly disavowed the doctrines of Christianity, and offered solemn sacrifices to all the gods of ancient Rome. Jovian, the next emperor, indeed, liked Christianity, but died A.D. 364, after a reign of less than eight months. Valens was superstitious and cruel, and was burnt alive, A.D. 378. Theodosius the Great became emperor A.D. 379. These were the contemporaries of Shápúr, and it is an admitted fact that during the fourth century the Christian Church was alternately persecuted and cherished by the Roman emperors. Its oppressors were Diocletian, Galerius, and Julian; whilst Constantine, Valentinian, Valens, Gratian, and Theodosius favoured it; paganism was, however, totally extinguished throughout the Roman dominions during the reign of the last-mentioned emperor.³⁰

³⁰ During the reign of Theodosius, Armenia was divided between the Romans and Persians under Shápúr III. into two parts, the share of the latter being at least two-thirds of it, and the most fertile. Arsaces, the king of

During the reign of Shápúr II., Mesopotamia was full of towns, and the country in a high state of cultivation, promoted by numerous artificial canals, which not only irrigated and fertilized the land, but were navigable, and served as means of communication down to the fall of the Sasanian dynasty in the seventh century, when the Arab flotilla of Kháled, proceeding by water to Hirah, stuck, all of a sudden, fast and dry, because the sluices of all the canals of irrigation issuing from the arm of the Búdakala had been opened to let the water out. This scheme of irrigating Mesopotamia, one of the most extensive the world has ever seen, is now so neglected, that unless something is done to guide the Enphrates, which at present discharges a great quan-

Armenia, continued to reign in the western part, which had fallen to the lot of the Romans, but as their vassal; and the majority of Christian princes who had possessions in the eastern part of Armenia abandoned their estates and followed their sovereign. When Shápúr III. took cognizance of this emigration, he refrained from incorporating eastern Armenia into the empire, but bestowed it on Khosru, an Arsacide prince who was a Christian, and gave him his own sister Zervándukht in marriage. As soon as the princes heard this news, they returned to their sovereignties, carried off the treasures of Arsaces and brought them to Khosru; the latter was, however, soon removed from the government, because he had entered into an alliance with the emperor and acknowledged himself a tributary of the Romans, and his brother Vrrham-Shabuh (in Persian, Behram Shápúr) substituted in his place. This king, taking warning from the fate of his brother, never swerved from his allegiance to Persia, and reigned quietly in Armenia 21 years. During his reign the learned Mesrob composed the Armenian alphabet, and had a complete translation of the Bible made from the Septuagint version. Up to this time the Armenians had only Greek and Syriac Bibles, which could not be read by the Christians of the country. Mesrob founded a school, which became celebrated in Armenia by the authors it produced. He sent many young men distinguished by birth and learning to Edessa, to Alexandria, to Antioch, to Constantinople, to Athens, and even to Rome, in order to study the language, philosophy, and literature of the Greeks. The most distinguished among them were Moses of Chorene, surnamed, on account of the elegance of his style, *K'hertogh*, i.e. 'the grammarian'; Mambreh Verzanogh, his brother; Goriún, Elisæus, David the philosopher, Arzan, of the race of Arzanians, and many others. Afterwards, however, Shápúr III. himself governed Armenia, and made himself odious to the people by his tyrannical character. He greatly tormented his subjects and princes in order to force them to embrace the religion of Zoroaster. Four years afterwards he returned to Persia in order to succeed his father, who had died, but soon perished from the treachery of his foes, so that his brother Behram IV. became master of the situation and obtained the throne. After that, the patriarch Sahag II. governed the country for a brief period in connection with his nephew the general Vartan, but went to the court of Behram V., who gave them Ardashes IV. (Pers. 'Ardashir'), the son of Vrrham-Shabuh, for their king; he was, however, dethroned (A.D. 428) by the same sovereign, and the kingdom of the Arsacides was destroyed; and from the just-mentioned year till A. D. 632, when the emperor of Constantinople sent a governor to take charge of the country, Armenia was governed by Marzbans, whom the sovereigns of Persia nominated.

tity of its surplus waters into the Tigris about three miles below Bagh'dad, into its old channel, that country will, in the course of a few years more, become one vast marsh. When, during the reign of Shápúr, the Roman emperor Julian, disappointed in his intended siege of Ctesiphon, had proceeded further into the interior of Persia, the people had set their own harvests and pastures on fire, with the object of impeding his progress; he died, however, shortly afterwards from a wound, and Jovian was tumultuously acclaimed emperor by the army. On that occasion the Roman army suffered during four days, whilst negotiations were going on with the Persians, the acutest pangs of hunger, instead of at once retreating to Corduene, which was very fertile, belonged to the Romans, and was not more distant than a hundred miles. This they ought to have done, according to the opinion of Ammianus Marcellinus,⁴⁰ who was an eye-witness of the campaign; the Romans delayed, however, and Shápúr II. was obstinate in demanding the restoration of all the provinces he said had been taken away from him by Maximianus, but in reality he demanded from the Romans the five provinces which are on the other side of the Tigris, namely, **Arzane** (part of the province of Erzerúm, ارض روم), Moxoene (Mush, in the same), Zabdicene (Jézyrah, in the Diarbekr,—the fort Bezabde, i.e. Zabdæum, situated in it, has already been mentioned above), Rehimene, and Corduene; moreover, fifteen forts, with Nisibis (نصيبين) and Singar (سنگار). It would perhaps have been better to fight than to yield to these propositions, but the crowd of flatterers which surrounded the timid emperor gave him to understand that there was reason to fear Procopius, and assured him that the just-mentioned general would, on hearing the news of Julian's death, not fail to raise troubles by means of the soldiers under his orders, who, having suffered no hardships, were not exhausted. Jovian, having thus been gained over by repeated insinuations, immediately granted all that was demanded, and obtained with difficulty that Nisibis and Singara should be surrendered to the Persians without their inhabitants.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Bk. xxv., ch. vii.

⁴¹ According to the *Shahnamah*, III. 102 the people of Nisibis were unwilling to surrender the city to Shápúr II., and offered resistance:—

چو اندر نصیبین خبر یافتند	همه جنگ را نیز بشتا فتند
که ما را نباید که شاپور شاه	نصیبین بگیرد و بیارد سپاه
که دین مسیحاندارد درست	ره کبر کی ورزد و ژند و است

It has already been observed, under the sixth year of the persecution, that when the bishop Barbashemin was decapitated the episcopal seat of Seleucia remained vacant till the death of Shápúr, namely, twenty years, when Tamuza was elected, but he died after governing the church eight years. Abdjesus I. is omitted by Barhebræus, nor can it be known how long he presided over the seat, which is said to have remained two years vacant after his demise; his successor, Cajumas, who is considered to have been the 14th Catholicus of Seleucia, was present at the council of Constantinople during the reign of Theodosius the Great, A.D. 381, but appears at that time not to have been bishop of Seleucia, as he must only have been elected 21 years afterwards, since he is said to have resigned in the fifth year after his election, *i.e.* A.D. 407,⁴² in a synod of Oriental bishops at that time convoked by Maruthas, the bishop of Martyropolis (ميا فارقين Myáfárekyn), who had chiefly been instrumental in a treaty of peace concluded between the emperor Arcadius and Yazdegird II.;^{43a} he is also said to have been a skilful physician, and to have cured the daughter of this king, with whom he so ingratiated himself that he obtained permission to build several churches; so that when Cajumas resigned he probably yielded to superior authority, and made way in the above-mentioned council for Isaac, who ruled the church during eleven years, and died in the 18th year of Yazdegird II., *i.e.* A.D. 417. The chief act on record about Isaac is that he, in connection with St. Acacius, the bishop of Amida, ransomed Persian prisoners from the Romans,⁴³ but the precise year in which this event happened cannot be made out satisfactorily. When the Romans had, in their devastation of Azanena, captured about seven thousand Persians, whom they were by no means inclined to release, and who were starving, Acacius convoked his priests and

This resistance so incensed the king that he sent troops, who made great slaughter:—

که اندر نصیبین ندادند را	چو آگهی آمد شا پور شاه
سپاهی فرستاد هم ۴۰۰	ز دین مسیحا بر آشفته شاه
کشد دین اورا نشاید ستود	هه یگفت پیغمبری کش جهود
در شهر بر جنگیان تنگ بود	بیگ هفتقر انجا همی جنگ بود
نهادند بر زنده بند گران	بکشند از ایشان فراوان اسران

⁴² *Or. Chr.*, tom. II., p. 1110.

^{43a} This sovereign is numbered according to Dr. Mordtmann's *Chronology of the Sassanians*, as well as all the others.

⁴³ *Or. Chr.*, II. 1111.

said to them,—“ Our God stands in need neither of platters nor bowls, as he neither eats nor drinks, and wants nothing. But as the church possesses many gold and silver vessels, presented by the benevolence and liberality of those who have entered it, we must with their price ransom the captives and feed them.” After having said more to the same purport, he had the sacred vessels melted, ransomed the captives gradually by paying their price to the Roman soldiers, fed them for some time, and lastly, providing them with travelling expenses, sent them to the king of Persia, who was so much struck by this act of Acacius that he desired the bishop to pay him a visit, which is said to have taken place by the permission of Theodosius, who allowed him to leave the synod which was at that time sitting in Constantinople. Socrates^{***} refers this event to A.D. 422, at which date, however, Isaac, the fellow-labourer of Acacius, had been dead several years.

Maruthas, the above-mentioned bishop of Martyropolis (or, according to others, of the whole of Mesopotamia), who had also been present at the synods which were about this time being held in Constantinople, was on two occasions sent by Theodosius as ambassador to Yazdegird II., whose esteem he won by his great piety ; this, however, gave offence to the Magi, who, being afraid that he might persuade the king, whom he is said to have also relieved of an apparently incurable headache, to embrace the Christian religion, concealed a man underground in the fire-temple the king was in the habit of visiting, so that when engaged in worship he heard the words, “ The king is to be expelled, as he impiously believes that a priest of the Christian religion can be dear to God.” After hearing these words, Yazdegird was half inclined to dismiss Maruthas ; the latter, however, suggested that the place should be examined, which being done at the next visit of the king, when words purporting to issue from the fire were again heard, the fraud was discovered, and not only the speaker, but many other Magi also were slain.^{***} On this occasion the king gave Maruthas the permission already mentioned to build churches wherever he liked, so that henceforth the Christian religion again spread among the Persians more and more. When Maruthas was for the second time sent as ambassador, the Magi again played a trick to prevent his being admitted into the presence of the king ; they produced a horrible

^{***} Bk. vii., ch. 21,—*Bibl. Or. Ass.*, I. 195 *et seq.*

^{***} Socrates, bk. vii., ch. 8.—*Bibl. Or. Ass.*, I. 176.

stench in a locality through which he was wont to pass, and said that the Christians had done it. When Yazdegird discovered that this odour was a stratagem of the Magi, he had many of them slain, and honoured Maruthas the more. He also took a liking to the Romans, whose friendship he cultivated, and was almost ready to become a Christian when Maruthas, in concert with Abdas the Persian bishop, prepared by fastings and orisons, worked the miracle of exorcising a demon who had vexed the king's son; but Yazdegird was overtaken by death before he had become a perfect Christian.⁴⁵ From what has just been said according to Socrates, it would appear that the Christians of Persia had no reason to complain of enmity towards them, at least as far as Yazdegird II. himself was concerned; and the same author⁴⁶ expressly states that he "undertook no war against the Romans, nor troubled them in any way," whilst Dionysius the Jacobite patriarch attributes the persecutions which took place under Yazdegird II. to his son Behram V. about A.D. 423, but several other authors—Theodoretus, Theophanes, and Pagius—mention a persecution of Christians by Yazdegird. Cyrillus, in his biography of St. Euthymius the abbot,⁴⁷ writes:—"In the beginning of the persecution which took place towards the end of the reign of Yazdegird the Persian king, when the Magi were desirous of capturing all the Christians, they everywhere stationed prefects of the Arabs subject to them, lest any Christians living in Persia should flee to the Romans." Assemani⁴⁸ reconciles these contradictory statements by concluding that a persecution was indeed undertaken by Yazdegird II. against the Christians, because Abdas, the bishop of Suza, being carried away by too much zeal, had imprudently burnt a fire-temple,⁴⁹ but that it soon abated. The persecu-

⁴⁵ Bk. vii., ch. 8.

⁴⁶ Bk. vii., ch. 18.

⁴⁷ *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, I. 182.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, I. 183.

⁴⁹ Le Quien (*Or. Chr.*, II. 1190) also bears witness to this fact, which according to him took place A.D. 421, and states that Abdas had, before demolishing the pyraum, first extinguished the sacred fire, wherefore he was slain by order of the king. This is confirmed also by the Nestorian A'mru, who, however, would move the event down to a later period, as his statement is that after the death of Jaballaha, which took place A.D. 428, Yazdegird set on foot against the Christians a persecution in which St. Abdas, the bishop of the Huzites, was crowned a martyr, because a certain priest named Hosee had in the town of the Huzites اهراز demolished a fire-temple contiguous to a Christian church, and that the persecution had been quelled by Isaac the

tion was, however, soon revived by Behram V. on his succession to the throne, especially after he had undertaken an expedition against the Romans and fought with them. Such persecutions were always more atrocious when the Persians were at feud with the Romans, and the one now alluded to terminated when peace was concluded, A.D. 427.

It has already been mentioned above that a partition of Armenia had taken place between the Romans—or more strictly the Byzantine Greeks—and the Persians, in which the latter obtained the larger and more fertile share, governing it through Marzbans, often selected from among the Armenians themselves. Under the dominion of Persia, Armenia continued to be ravaged by sanguinary wars, and to be a prey to nearly the same calamities which it had already encountered under its own kings. Powerful families professing the Christian religion, irritated by the intolerance of the Persian kings or their governors, and goaded by the political intrigues of the emperors of Constantinople, often revolted in order to expel the foreigners from their country; their efforts were, however, not seldom paralyzed by those of their own fellow-countrymen who followed the religion of Zoroaster, or who were from interested motives attached to the kings of Persia; and, to crown their misfortunes, they were usually abandoned by the Greeks, who had flattered them with hopes of breaking their fetters. Accordingly also the majority of Armenian princes who revolted against the Persians obtained but little success, and perished miserably, although most of them possessed military talents and much bravery.

After the Persians had taken possession of Armenia, it enjoyed—a few religious dissensions excepted—a great deal of peace under the government of the Marzban Vch-Mihr-Shápúr, of the Sbarabied (سپهبد) Vartan, the general of the troops, and the administrator Vahan Amadúni, who bore the title Hazarbied (chiliarch). But this interval of tranquillity was of short duration, because when Yazdegird

duke of Armenia, who subjected the Huzites to Yazdegird. G. Rawlinson, in his *Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 275, states that this monarch greatly favoured Christians, and commenced a persecution of the Magians, but that the excessive zeal of Abdas provoked a reaction after a while. "Abdas had ventured to burn down the great Fire-Temple of Ctesiphon, and had refused to rebuild it. Yazdegird authorized the Magian hierarchy to retaliate by a general destruction of the Christian Churches throughout the Persian dominions, and by the arrest and punishment of all those who acknowledged themselves to believe in the Gospel."

II. ascended the throne he desired to force the Armenians and all the nations inhabiting Mount Caucasus to abandon the Christian religion and to embrace Zoroastrianism.⁵⁰ Mihr Nerseh, the Persian general, was (A.D. 442) sent to Armenia, in order to put into execution the wish of the king. He arrived with many soldiers as well as priests, and was immediately joined by Varazvaghan, the son-in-law of Vasag, and prince of the Siunians, who abjured the Christian religion and promised to second him in his projects. Fearing to use compulsion, Mihr Nerseh summoned to his presence the Armenian, Iberian, and Albanian princes under the pretext of waging war against the Huns; he treated them with the greatest honours, overwhelmed them with presents, and succeeded in decoying them away from their country. On that occasion Vasag, the prince of the Siunians, was appointed Marzban of Armenia, and Vartan confirmed in the dignity of Sbarabied. The Armenian princes fought during more than two years against the Huns beyond the gates of Derbend, and rendered great services to the king of Persia, but could by no means be induced to abandon the Christian religion. Mihr Nerseh, annoyed by this obstinacy, at last loudly proclaimed the orders he had received from the king, and neither gifts nor promises were spared to gain over the princes, nor threats to frighten them into submission. Not content with all his stratagems, he had Adún, prince of the Kenúnians, and Manajih, the prince of the Reshdunians, arrested and conveyed to Persia, where they lost their lives. Tenshabuh (تنشابور), the Persian general, published at the head of his army the orders of the king in all the districts of Armenia; and Mihr Nerseh addressed to all the princes and bishops an exposition of the religious doctrine of Persia,—already inserted before in footnote 23—to induce them to obey his sovereign. Hereupon the patriarch Joseph I. assembled (A.D. 450) the most prominent men of the country at Ardashad, to deliberate on the reply to be made to the lieutenant of the king. All the Armenians unanimously replied that they would not abandon the Christian faith, and professed their readiness to suffer martyrdom for it. Yazdegird, irritated by this resistance, summoned the majority of the Armenian princes to his court, and caused the Marzban Vasag, the Sbarabied Vartan, Vazten the Iberian prince, as well as many others, to be put in irons, and threatened them with the most cruel death if they refused to abandon their religion. Being reduced to the last extremity, these princes, in

⁵⁰ Elissæus, ch. i.

order to save their lives, consented to all that was demanded of them, and lastly completed their abjuration in the presence of the king by submitting to all the ceremonies prescribed by the religion of Zoroaster.⁵¹

Satisfied with their submission, Yazdegird sent them back to Armenia with numerous Persian troops and plenty of Magi, to destroy the Christian churches and to propagate idolatry in the country. On learning their approach, Shvasp Arzruni, the prince of Vent, with his son Sheroi and several other princes who were secretly inclined to embrace the religion of the Persians, hastened to deny Jesus Christ in the town of Tovin, and manifested their zeal by the most cruel devastations.⁵² At this sad news the whole Armenian nation ran to arms, and the patriarch with all the bishops prepared for martyrdom. Armenia seemed threatened with the last extremity, when general Vartan, ashamed of his weakness, fled from the camp of the Persians, and went to meet the patriarch Joseph. Bitterly deploring his culpable apostasy, he threw himself at the feet of the prelate to obtain his pardon, and swore to him, as well as to those who had participated in his weakness, to conquer or to die for the religion of their fathers. In haste to fulfil his vow, Vartan collected all his forces, appealed to the Armenian princes, and was soon at the head of an army of 100,000 warriors, with whom he marched against the strangers and apostates, put them to flight, burnt the temples they had erected, and destroyed by torture those who had escaped the sword.⁵³ Whilst Vartan was thus avenging his country and blotting out by his triumphs one moment of error in the sight of his countrymen, the princes of the Aghovans or Albanians were likewise tormented by the orders of the king of Persia. Informed of Vartan's victory, they sent ambassadors to the Armenians in order to ask aid from them against the Persians, who had inundated their country with troops, and who desired entirely to destroy the Christian religion in it. Before marching to defend the Albanians, Vartan and the princes his allies resolved to ask support from the emperor Theodosius II., in order more successfully to resist the king of Persia, who was preparing to avenge the reverses he had experienced. About this time (A.D. 450) Theodosius died, and his successor, Marcian, being too much engaged

⁵¹ *Elisæus*, ch. i.-ii.

⁵² *Ibid.*, ch. iii.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

in his religious disputes with the followers of the heretic Eutyches, who were at that time tearing the empire to pieces, never thought of aiding the Armenians in the unequal struggle they had to sustain against the Persians.⁵⁴

The Armenians, being thus limited to their own efforts, resolved to perish rather than that the least injury should be inflicted on their religion. They fought valiantly, and whilst Vartan was covering himself with glory, the Marzban Vasag, who had for a long time been secretly in the interest of Yazdegird, profited by the absence of Vartan to throw off the mask and to abjure Christianity. Dirots the prince of the Pagratides, Katishvi the prince of the Khorkhorhunians, as well as many others, followed his example, and warmly embraced the interests of the king of Persia. They united their forces, opened the entrance of Armenia to strangers, ravaged the country, almost totally destroyed the town of Ardashad, and devastated the province of Ararat by fire and sword. Vartan, incensed at this treachery and at these devastations, ravaged in his turn all the possessions of Vasag and of his adherents. In the spring of A.D. 451 Meshgan Ninsalavard, general of the troops of Yazdegird, entered Armenia at the head of a powerful army, whilst Vartan and the other princes who had remained faithful to their oath ran to arms, and marched to encounter the Persians and the perfidious Vasag. They displayed very great courage, but all in vain; pressed as they were by numerous adversaries, they were completely routed on the banks of the river Deghmod, in the province of Ardaz, on the frontiers of Aderbaiján, and Vartan with the majority of the princes was slain in the hand-to-hand fight. After this important victory Armenia was completely subjugated; but a few Armenians preferred the miseries of exile to slavery, and took refuge in the Greek empire, in the Kurdish mountains, and in the passes of the Caucasus, whilst the patriarch Joseph, the chief bishops, with many priests, were taken captive to Persia, and obtained the crown of martyrdom.

It has already been seen above how honourably Yazdegird treated Maruthas (who died A.D. 411), and how the latter had, as a physician, enjoyed the honour of treating members of the royal family. Achæus,⁵⁵ the disciple of the above-mentioned Abdas, and successor

⁵⁴ Elisæus, ch. iii.

⁵⁵ This prelate is said to have been so abstemious that he subsisted exclusively on vegetables and bread, to which he occasionally added something cooked.

of Isaac in the bishopric, appears, according to A'mru, to have enjoyed the favour of Yazdegird like Maruthas, because he was employed by the king also on a mission to Bihor, a son of Shápúr, who had rebelled against him, and says A'mru, "When this father arrived in Persia and transacted the business for which he had been sent, he examined the sepulchres of the martyrs who had attained martyrdom during the reign of Shápúr, as well as the cause for which each of them suffered death, and wrote their history. Then he returned to Yazdegird, whom he informed of all that had happened, and was very honourably received by him. He exercised his authority in the government of his flock by ordering the fathers to anathematize every house in which they might find any of the sciences of witchcraft and instruments of Magic, because some Marcionites and Manichæans had entered among the people in disguise. He composed a book on the acts of the martyrs slain in the East, which was confirmed by Daniel the son of Mary in his ecclesiastical history. He also wrote the history of St. Abdas, his teacher."⁵⁶

Yaballaha (يَهْيَا), the successor of Achæus, and likewise a disciple of Abdas, being noted for his monastic habits, piety, and studiousness, as well as for the purity of his life, was elected Catholicus with the consent of all, and the approbation of the king, who is at that time said to have become more relenting towards Christians, especially at the instance of Isaac, a patrician of Armenia, through whom that country had become subject to Persia. Yaballaha, who had cured the king of a malady, and thereby caused him to become more gentle towards his Christian subjects,⁵⁷ died A.D. 419, but Yazdegird II.

⁵⁶ ولما وصل هذا الاب الى فارس و اصلح الامور التي توجّه
لأجلها سال من قبور الشهداء الذين قبلوا الشهادة في أيام سابور وبأى
سبب قتل كل واحد منهم وكتب قصصهم وعاد الى يزد جرد ففرّقه
ما وقف عليه و تاتى له و حظى عنده بجاه عظيم و بسط يده في تدبير
رعيته وامر الابا ان يحرمون كل بيت يجدون فيه شيئاً من علوم السحر
والآلات الجوسية لان قوم من المرقيونيه والمانيه كان قد تنكروا
ودخلوا بين الناس وعمل كتابا اثبت فيه اخبار الشهداء الذين استشهدوا
بالشرق وقد اثبتها ايضا دانيال ابن مريم في تاريخه الاقلا مسيطيقي
وعمل تشعيت مار عبد رابه

⁵⁷ *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. 1., p. 372.

himself expired the next year, after a reign of twenty years.⁵⁵ According to Nestorian authors, Mahna or Máanes, the metropolitan of Fárs, a Persian by birth, and on that account approved by Yazdegird, was appointed after the demise of Yaballaha. A'mru says concerning him, "He was learned in Syriac and Persian, and was the metropolitan of [the province of] Fárs. As he had much influence with Yazdegird, he selected him, and compelled the fathers to make him patriarch. After that, however, he became angry with him, and ordered his [official] garments to be burnt, exiling him to Fárs. Then he sent for the metropolitans and bishops, from whom he exacted the promise that Ma'na should no longer be called a patriarch, either openly or secretly. When he had departed to Fárs, information was brought to Yazdegird of his governing a flock there; accordingly he ordered

⁵⁵ It has already been observed above that A'mru places the demolition of the pyræum, and the persecution ensuing after it, later than the death of Yaballaha. His words are as follows:—

وتقيرت نية يزدجرد في النصارى فهدم البيع * فعاد العداء عليه *
وامتدعى يبالاها فصلا عليه فبرى وعوفى وعاد الى احسن عنايته و
امر بينا البيع ولعلم يبالاها بما سوف يجرى على النصارى وسال قبضة
وامستفاح ودفن بالمداين * وكانت مدته سبع عشر سنة وبعد موته
عاد يزدجرد هدم البيع وقتل النصارى وفعل معهم امرا عظيما * وكان
في جملة المقتولين مار عبدا اسقف الالهواز * لان قسا من اصحابه تعرض
بيت نار كان يجاوز البيعة كان النصارى ينادي به * وكان هذا مما ابقظ
يزدجرد ففعل ما فعله * وبشفاعة اسحق بطريق ارمنيه كف وهو جعل
الارمن في طاعة يزدجرد *

"And the disposition of Yazdegird changed towards the Christians, so that he demolished churches, and his headache returned; accordingly he called Yaballaha, who prayed over him till he recovered, again favoured Christians, and ordered churches to be built; but as Yaballaha knew what would soon befall the Christians, he prayed to be relieved of life, died, and was buried in Madayn; his time [of presiding over the Church] was seventeen years. After his death Yazdegird again destroyed churches, slew Christians, and persecuted them severely. Among the number of the slain was also St. Abdas, the bishop of Ahváz, because one of his fellow-priests had caused a pyræum adjoining a church of the Christians, and displeasing to them, to be destroyed. This incensed Yazdegird to do what he did, but he desisted [from the persecution] at the intercession of Isaac, the patrician of Armenia through whom that country had become subject to Yazdegird."

him to be imprisoned. Then he was examined concerning this affair and released; he died in Fārs."⁵⁹

This Máanes, who is by some said to have associated in the school of Edessa with Rabulas, Acacius, Barsumas, &c., all of whom favoured the doctrines of Nestorius, was, during the same year in which the fathers had elected him (i.e. A.D. 420), by the command of Yazdegird, also deposed by them as a usurper, after having incurred his displeasure; and Marabokht, whom A'mru calls Karábakht, the successor of Máanes, i. e. Ma'na, underwent the same fate, after presiding but a few months over the Church, although he had, by presenting a sum of gold to Behram V., the son of Yazdegird II., induced him to compel the bishops to elect him; these, however, soon removed him again, by the aid of some Persian magnates, whereupon Dadjesus was, according to A'mru, ordained bishop, governed the Church during thirty-five years, and died A.D. 465. In the early portion of his patriarchate he appears to have been imprisoned for a while, by order of the king, but liberated at the instance of Theodosius.⁶⁰

About this period of time, Nestorianism, the promulgator of which had been removed from the patriarchate of Constantinople, and excommunicated afterwards by the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, began to spread in Persia and to be sanctioned by various synods; being persecuted in Constantinople it was patronized in Persia, even by the

هَذَا كَانَ عَالِمًا بِالسَّرْيَانِيَةِ وَالْفَارْسِيَةِ وَكَانَ مَطْرَانُ فَارَسَ وَلَهُ
تَقْدِمٌ عِنْدَ يَزْدَجَرْدَ فَاخْتَارَ وَالْزَمَ الْآبَا بِتَصْيِيرِهِ فَطْرَكَ ثُمَّ مِنْ بَعْدِ
ذَلِكَ سَخَطَ عَلَيْهِ وَأَمَرَ بِتَخْرِيقِ ثِيَابِهِ وَنَفْيِهِ إِلَى فَارَسَ وَأَرْسَلَ أَحْضَرَ
الْمَطْرَانَةَ وَالْأَسَاقِفَةَ وَآخَذَ عَلَيْهِمُ الْعَهْدَ أَنْ لَا يَدْعِيَ مَعْنَا فَطْرَكَ لَا ظَاهِرًا
وَلَا بَاطِنًا • وَلَمَّا مَضَى إِلَى فَارَسَ وَمَلَ إِلَى يَزْدَجَرْدَ أَنَّهُ يَدْبُرُ الرِّعِيَّةَ
هَنَّاكَ فَاثَرُ بَحْبَسَهُ ثُمَّ سَأَلُوهُ فِي أَمْرِهِ فَاطْلَقَهُ وَمَاتَ بِفَارَسَ

⁵⁹ That Dadjesus must have enjoyed the favour of Behram V., and was greatly esteemed by him, because he had, by his prudent arrangements, preserved the frontiers of Tus and of Khorásán from invasions of enemies, and hindered them from entering the province of Fārs, appears plainly from the words of A'mru, *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. 1., p. 214:—

لأنه كان قد حفظ بحسن تدبيره حدود البلاد في طوس وخراسان
من تطرف الأعداء ودخولهم أرض فارس

It was not unusual in those times to entrust Christian prelates also with the civil government of provinces, and Barsumas appears likewise to have given satisfaction in this respect.

sovereigns of that country, where the teachers of its doctrines took refuge and were welcomed when the emperor Zeno dissolved the school of Edessa, which was steeped in them. The chief propagator of Nestorianism in the Persian dominions was Barsumas, who established a new school in lieu of the just-mentioned one at Nisibis, where he afterwards became bishop. He was, on account of his erudition, eloquence, and political capacities, not only one of the chief courtiers of Firuz as well as of Kobád, but also entrusted by them with the civil government of Nisibis and the adjoining districts along the boundaries of the Roman empire. Authors inimical to Nestorianism not only consider it very sinful that Barsumas was a married man, who allowed bishops and priests to contract marriages, but they accuse him even of polygamy. It is quite natural that Barsumas may have been extremely zealous in the propagation of the tenets of his sect, but it is narrated that, as he was very influential with Firuz, innumerable Christians professing tenets contrary to his own suffered death at his instigation; it cannot be said that Firuz persecuted the Jacobites on this account, but that he did so is asserted by A'mru, who says, "Firuz sought out the Jacobites and killed them. He slew great numbers of them in Takryt, and the rest embraced Magism."⁶¹ Simeon of Beth-Arsam⁶² states that even Babuæus, the successor of the above-mentioned Dadjesus as Catholicus of Seleucia, was slain by Firuz at the suggestion of Barsumas, on the accusation of being a friend and spy of the Romans.

It has already been observed that the doctors expelled from Edessa, of whom Barsumas was the chief, were not only received with honours in Persia, but that some of them obtained bishoprics. Thus Maanes was made bishop of Ardashir; Joannes of Beth-sor, in the district of the Garamæans; Michas of Loscium, in the same; Paulus of Cachæum, in the town of Leden, in the district of Ahvaz; Phases Curtæus of the town of Shuster; Abraham of the Medians; but Narses the Leper established a school at Nisibis. During the time of the patriarch Maanes there were already forty Persian bishops, but afterwards thirty-three of Khorasan are mentioned in addition with thirty-two of Persian Armenia, who are said to have remained orthodox till the

⁶¹ *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. II., p. 381:—و طلب فيروز الملك اليها قبة:—
وقتلهم وقتل منهم بتكرير خلق و تمجس الباقون

⁶² He flourished A.D. 510, and was a great propagator of the faith: *ibid.*, I. p. 341.

21st year of the reign of Firuz, i.e. A.D. 478, when they all made profession⁶³ of Nestorianism.

A'mru was, as a Nestorian writer, naturally of a different opinion from the orthodox party, and ascribes also the death of Babuæus,⁶⁴ not as Simon of Beth-Arsam has done, to the machinations of Barsumas, but to those of Gabriel the physician of Sinjár, as will be seen below; he nevertheless also asserts that "when Firuz was informed of Babuæus's being a Persian convert from Magism he prohibited him from ordaining bishops and other priests; this command, however, Babuæus disregarded, wherefore his property, which was large, being confiscated and himself thrown into prison, he remained a captive seven years and then died; meanwhile the Christians suffered persecution on his account, the explanation of which would extend to a great length."⁶⁵ A'mru's narrative of the manner in which Babuæus perished is so interesting that the whole of it is here translated:—"The king of Persia had a skilful physician whose name was Gabriel of Sinjár, who cohabited with a number of women whom he kept; wherefore the said Catholicus [Babuæus] became displeased with him, reprimanded him, and ordered him to select one of them, with whom he might live according to the precepts of the Evangel, and to dismiss the others. As the physician refused to comply, the Catholicus excommunicated him, and prohibited him from approaching the church as well as the Eucharist; wherefore he became his foe, spoke perfidiously of the Catholicus to the king as well as to his courtiers, and sowed discord between the Catholicus and his bishops and flock, but without effect. He persevered, however, in his contumacy, and could not decide to submit; therefore he sent into the district of Malatia to invite adherents of Eutyches and Dioscorus, on whom he bestowed honours and gifts, so that some persons began to follow them, and he built a church to reinstall the sect there. Then the Catholicus wrote to Leo, the emperor of the Romans, a letter

⁶³ Letter of Simeon Beth-Arsamensis, *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. 1., p. 356.

⁶⁴ He succeeded Dadjesus A.D. 465, and was slain A.D. 485, in the 20th year of his patriarchate.

⁶⁵ و نقل الى فيروز ان بابوى الفطرك كان مجوسيا و تنصر فعانده
و معانعه من ان يسيم اساقفه او غيرهم فاسام و خالفه و كان قد جمع عنده
مالا كثيرا فاخذ الجميع منه و قيده و عذبه و ضرب به و ارماه في الحبس
سبع سنين و جرى على النصارى بسببه من الاذى ما يطول شرحه

wherein he complained of what had befallen him at the hand of the king [in his refusal to punish Gabriel?]; this letter he sealed with his own ring and despatched in the year 792 [of the Greeks, or A.D. 481, which being too late may be the error of a copyist]. The king of Persia was very gracious towards Barsumas, the metropolitan of Nisibis; he was pleased with him, he liked him, and made him his companion. When he became aware of his science, bravery, and personal attractions, he bestowed on him the government of Nisibis with the surrounding districts adjoining the country of the Romans, and confiding them, with their affairs, to his keeping; wherefore Barsumas entertained also watchmen on the thoroughfares and passages for the security of the country. When the bearer of the letter of Babuæus the patriarch passed near some of these guardians of the road, he apprehended that he might be made prisoner; accordingly he threw away whatever he had with him and fled. This letter was, however, brought to Barsumas with its seal, who despatched it to Firuz, by way of precaution, without opening it. When the letter was brought to the king, he gave it, on account of its being written in Syriac, to his physician Gabriel to read. After perusing it Gabriel changed some words and added a few, to draw wrath on the writer by making him complain of the king of Persia, and calling the latter the master of the impious kingdom. Hereupon Firuz summoned Babuæus to his presence and spoke to him as follows:—"It would have been proper to kill thee before thou hadst transgressed my command, but I showed thee leniency till thou hast spoken and written about me. Now if thou wilt retrace thy steps and become a Zoroastrian, I will pardon thee everything, augment thy honours, and raise thee to a higher station." Babuæus replied, 'God forbid that I should depart from light to darkness, and exchange perishable for eternal life.' Accordingly he ordered him to be hanged by the finger on which he wore his ring, which was done, and he remained suspended outside the city of Madayn until he died. Then some people from Hīrah took his body and buried it there. He is considered a martyr, and the time of his patriarchate amounts to twenty years. When Barsumas heard that Babuæus had perished by the enmity of Gabriel, he made haste, and arriving at the court asked for the letter in the presence of the king, in order to convince himself of its truth or falsehood; Gabriel, however, refused to surrender it, saying, 'I tore it up that very hour on account of the wicked insinuations it contained;' Barsumas accused him of lying, and replied,

‘Hadst thou spoken what is true, thou wouldst have kept the letter to confirm thy statement.’ On account of this affair contentions took place between Barsumas and the sect of Gabriel, which it would be long to narrate, and in which much blood was shed.” A’mru describes Babuæus as a pious man who ordered that, to avoid temptation, every priest should have his own wife; and, as he appears to have been very well acquainted with the customs of the Magi, the blunder of stating that they burnt their corpses can certainly not be attributed to him, but to some scribe who added it to the text.^{55a}

At this period not only Monophysites, Melchites, Nestorians, and other Christian sects existed in Persia, but also smaller ones, which sometimes, like the above-mentioned one of Gabriel, ceased to exist when their founders died.

Various Sects.

It is not intended to give in this place detailed accounts of the numberless sects, some of which originated almost contemporaneously with the promulgation of Christianity; an acquaintance with these may be gathered from various authors, but they will briefly be described only as far as they are connected with Persia, and for that purpose it will be necessary to begin with Gnosticism.

It is well known that all the great religions of the world originated in the East, but its isolation from the West, which had more or less subsisted down to the times of Alexander, diminished greatly during the wars of that conqueror, when the religious and philosophical doctrines of Greece, Egypt, Persia, and India came in contact with each other; a fusion of some of the tenets of these produced Gnosticism, which name is derived from the root *γνῶσις*, *knowledge*.⁵⁵ According to the countries in which they flourished, there were numerous systems of Gnosticism, although their aim was one as well as their claim, namely the discovery of phenomena unknown and unknowable to men, such as the origin and destiny of man, the creation of the world, the supernatural cause or causes which produced it, &c. One consequence of the fusion of Oriental doctrines alluded to above is represented in Gnosticism and in Platonism precisely as in Hinduism, namely, the belief in the emanation from and final return to the Deity of all intelligences; it is still prevalent not only among Hindus, but also among the Moslem Çufis,

^{55a} *Bibl. Or. Asv.*, tom. III., pt. 1., p. 428.

⁵⁵ The *معرفة* of the Çufis.

and may be said to be countenanced even in the Korán.⁶⁷ In Europe the first traces of the language and ideas of Gnosticism occur in Pythagoras and Plato, both of whom are known to have drawn their inspiration from the East,⁶⁸ although the writers of the school of Alexandria, who flourished before the Christian era, always placed the speculations of the Greeks above those of the Orientals. But the origin of Gnosticism is perhaps to be sought much earlier, namely, among the Jews in their Babylonian captivity, many of whom afterwards went to Alexandria and carried the doctrines of Gnosticism acquired among the Persians to that place. Zoroastrianism was a source from which the Jews borrowed; thus, for instance, the Amshaspands created by Ormuzd, surrounding his throne, and transmitting the prayers of mankind to him, have been adopted by the Gnostics and Cabalists, who retained even the distinction into males and females. The second series of spirits, the Yezeds watching with Ormuzd and the Amshaspands over the welfare of mankind, with Mithra⁶⁹ at their head, amounted to at least thirty in number. In the Talmud, as in the Zend-Avesta, the government of the world is entrusted to angels, seventy of whom are appointed as protectors over each star, country, and town; and even every language, animal, man, wind, thunder, rain, &c. has its guardian angel. The third order of these pure spirits, *i.e.* that of the Feroers, is infinitely more numerous; they are the ideas of Ormuzd which he conceived before creating the world; they are also protectors of mankind. The Cabalists have a similar chain of beings or energies all emanating from God, whom they class into thirty gates or elements from which substances are formed. With them Belial occupies the position of Ahriman, who has among the Zoroastrians also three classes of genii, like those just mentioned, but all of evil tendency; and the Pharisees⁷⁰ pretended to be in possession of an exclusive science according to which they, like the Persians, taught doctrines attributing every good to the angels of Jehovah. These two

⁶⁷ *Surah* II, 151:— وَاِنَّا اِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ also II. 285, III. 27, V. 21, XX. 13, XXII. 47, XL. 3, XLII. 14, LX. 4, LXIV. 3, and many other passages.

⁶⁸ Both of them studied in Egypt; the former had also intercourse with Chaldeans and Magi, but not the latter: *Diog. Laert.*, lib. viii., c. 4, and lib. iii., c. 8.

⁶⁹ The worship of this Yezed developed itself into a system, and he was made the sun-god by the Greeks and Romans. See *A Discourse on the Mithraic Worship*, &c., by K. R. Cama, 1876.

⁷⁰ Interpreter, מֵשֶׁת׃ pl. מְשִׁתִּים׃

doctrines were, of course, drawn from the Scriptures, but greatly amplified.

The idea of emanation is an essential one in Zoroastrianism ; also according to the Cabala everything has emanated from an infinite source of light ; emanation was equally acceptable to the Greeks and to the Eastern philosophers, according to whom a series of *Æons* and Deities issued from it. Hence, after the promulgation of Christianity, the first of those *Æons*, the *Logos*, or Word, of the same substance with the Father, and becoming the Saviour of the human race, could by no means be repugnant to, and was accordingly accepted by, the Gnostics. A real incarnation was, however, inconceivable to the numerous sects of Gnostics, who called themselves Christians, but pretended that the body of Jesus was only a *phantasm*. The *Korán* even bears testimony that this doctrine, if it did not survive the time of the author of that book, must at least have been known to him.⁷¹ At any rate, as late as A.D. 564 the emperor Justinian scandalized the Catholics as well as the Jacobites by the declaration that the body of Christ was incorruptible, and that his manhood was never subject to any wants and infirmities, the inheritance of mortal flesh. This *phantastic* opinion was announced in the last edict of Justinian.

If the speculations of the Cabala, contemporary with the beginning of Christianity or posterior to it, had originated with Moses or the patriarchs, as the Jews pretended, it would be something quite different from what it is. The Old Testament was not influenced by Gnosticism, like the Talmud, and the mere occurrence of the word *gnosis* in the Septuagint version counts for nothing ; its mention in the New Testament, in Luke ii. 52 and 1 Cor. ii. 14, viii. 1-9, may perhaps be considered of the same import, unless we take it in the first passage to be, not an allusion to the totality of revelations and divine institutions of Judaism, but to *the science* communicated by Pythagoreans to their most intimate disciples only, and afterwards exclusively attributed by the Gnostics to themselves alone.

It appears that the schisms which afterwards divided the Church began very early, as already in A.D. 57 some said that they were of Paul, of Apollos, of Cephas, or of Christ.⁷² Other doctrines, as well as certain fables and genealogies, are mentioned as having been taught ;⁷³

⁷¹ *Surah* IV. 156: — وَمَا قَدْلُوهُ وَمَا صَلَٰوُهُ وَلَكِنْ شَيْبَةً

⁷² 1 Cor. i. 12.

⁷³ 2 Tim. i. 3, 4 ; iv. 7.

but the *antithesis* of "a false *gnosis*, which some professing have erred concerning the faith,"⁷⁵ may possibly refer to the principles of dualism, to light and darkness, and the two great classes of good and evil spirits inculcated by Zoroastrianism and the Cabala, and constituting the most essential doctrine of the Gnostics, whose precursors are alluded to by the apostle. It cannot be denied that this contrast between light and darkness is strongly set forth in the Epistle to the Ephesians, where we are exhorted to walk as children of light,⁷⁶ are supposed to wrestle with the rulers of darkness,⁷⁶ and are said to have walked according to the prince of the powers of the air.⁷⁷

The Gospel of St. John was written about the end of the first century at Ephesus, one of the chief foci of Græco-Oriental Gnosticism, which developed itself into several schools after the death of this apostle. The Gnostics attributed the creation of the material world to immaterial beings, and by admitting various principles or intelligences, as well as various spiritual agencies, which they call *the beginning, the word, the only-begotten, the life, the light, the spirit*. St. John scarcely alludes to any doctrines of the Gnostics, never uses the word *gnosis*, and the expressions just adduced chiefly, if not exclusively, in the first chapter of his Gospel only, so that if any refutation of Gnosticism be intended it must be limited to that chapter. The case is somewhat different with the book of Revelations, where the following analogies with the Zend-Avesta, with the Cabala, and the Gnosis may be pointed out:—First of all, the number seven plays a conspicuous part: we meet with seven angels, candlesticks, seals, spirits, stars, &c. in numerous passages. The seven spirits or angels⁷⁸ are the seven Amsháspands; the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and end, is the Zervana Akarana;⁷⁹ the unfathomable depths of Satan are those of Ahriman.⁸⁰ The contrast between the good and bad creation,⁸¹ the Zoroastrian distinction of unclean animals or Devs,⁸² the cunning serpent, the old dragon,⁸³ and various other similarities are apparent enough.

Simon Magus acquired a great name in Samaria by the practice of sorcery, and the people called him "the great power of God." He believed and was baptized, but when he saw that through the laying

⁷⁵ 2 Tim. vi. 20, 21.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* vi. 12.

⁷⁸ Rev. i. 4, viii. 2, xv. 1.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* ii. 24.

⁸² *Ibid.* xvi. 13.

⁷⁵ 2 Tim. v. 8.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* ii. 2.

⁷⁹ Rev. i. 8.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* xii. 3, 7.

⁸³ *Ibid.* xx. 2.

on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given he offered them money. This so incensed Peter that he sharply reproved him, whereupon Simon departed with the gentle reply, "Pray ye to the Lord for me, that none of these things which ye have spoken come upon me,"⁸⁴ and afterwards became the chief of a Gnostic sect, into which he incorporated some doctrines of Christianity, and which was after him developed by his disciples, who spread themselves chiefly over Syria, Phrygia, and Rome, where he is said to have been "deceiving the people by his sorceries," and whither Simon Cephas himself proceeded to counteract them.⁸⁵ The adherents of Simon Magus pretended to be Christians, but were considered heretics; then Menander, and after him Cerinthus, was the chief of these so-called Christians, and to both of them some very absurd doctrines are attributed; their names, however, do not occur in the New Testament, but the Nicolaitanes, whose leader was Nicolaus, incur the blame of St. John.⁸⁶

As to the origin of the intellectual and of the lower world, all the Gnostic schools agree on the two principles of emanation and creation by the Demiurge. The intellectual world is a manifestation of the faculties of the Supreme Being, the unknown Father, and was created by a series of emanations. The lower world is, on the contrary, far from being the work of God, but was created by an inferior power. Concerning the nature of this power, or the manner of these creations, the schools of Syria and Egypt differed, according to the influence of Zoroastrianism on the one, and of Platonism on the other; and the school of Marcion, which is the third, has been derived both from the Syrian and the Egyptian.

Bardasanes, a native of Edessa, contrary to Marcion who greatly disregarded the Scriptures, followed not only the canonical, but also several apocryphal writings of the Jews and Christians; he moreover pretended to have found a Gnosis in the Bible, which was connected with that of Philo, the Cabala, and the Zend-Avesta. His system was presided over by two principles,—the first "the unknown Father," dwelling in eternal light, and the second "eternal matter," an inert dark mass, the source of all evils and the residence of Satan. The first creature produced by the unknown Father, and placed by him in paradise was the mother "of the Son of the living God," of Christos.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Acts viii. 9-24.

⁸⁵ See the "Doctrine of the Apostles" in the first footnote of this paper.

⁸⁶ Rev. ii. 6, 15.

⁸⁷ *Histoire Critique du Gnosticisme*, &c., par J. Matter, tom. I., p. 307.

Marcion was born at Sinope during the second century, and having embraced Christianity became in course of time bishop of his native city, whence he was, however, soon ejected, and went to Rome, as he believed that the people were too Judaizing. He rejected all the Scriptures, on the plea that they had been tampered with, and retained only one Gospel, resembling that of Luke, which he called "the evangel of the Lord;" but it had evidently been manipulated by him to suit his own views. Some Gnostic doctors had before the time of Marcion entertained the doctrine that the God of the Jews was only a secondary divinity,⁸⁸ the chief of the angels and governors of the world; but he first made it the basis of his system, which acknowledged, like that of Zoroaster, the Cabala, and the East in general, only two great principles. This third principle, namely, the God of the Jews, created the world, but being totally unknown to men he could not manifest himself to them except by assuming the human form, and announced himself as the Redeemer, the Christ. Marcus, and Apelles the successor of Marcion, altered his doctrines; his followers mixed with various other Christian sects, and ultimately some of them fled to Persia, where they became in course of time fused with orthodox Christians, when Gnosticism, which had after the spread of Christianity always attempted to identify itself therewith, but had always been rejected, finally disappeared.

It is curious to observe how closely Sharastáni⁸⁹ agrees in his description of the above-named three principles of the Marcionites with some European authors as to the relation of these principles to one another; he distinctly states that the two first were eternal light and eternal darkness, whilst the third or intermediate principle is inferior to light. His account of Máni and Mazdak, both of whom will again be alluded to in another part of this paper, with their tenets, is also very interesting, and entirely divested of the acrimony with which polemical Christian writers of early times have imbued their refutations of these two sects. Sharastáni states that the Manichæans are the adherents of Máni Ben Fáték, who flourished during the time of Shápúr Ben Ardashir, and was slain by Behrák Ben Hormuz Ben Shápúr. His religion was a mixture of Magism and Christianity,

⁸⁸ The assertion of Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, ch. xlvii.) that "in the system of the Gnostics the Jehovah of Israel, the creator of the lower world, was a rebellious, or at least an ignorant spirit," is too strong; it has been seen that according to the exposition of faith occurring in the address of Mihr Nerseh to the princes of Armenia, the position of Ormuzd was analogous, and likewise secondary.

⁸⁹ P. 190.

acknowledging the prophetship of the Messiah and of Moses. Mání believed the universe to be composed of two eternal, imperishable principles, namely, light and darkness, both of which, being personified, exhibit opposite qualities, those of the former being all good, and of the latter bad. Here we again meet with a third principle, or God, or angel, who creates the world and becomes the Redeemer. When, namely, the God of light perceived that the portions of the good were gradually commingling with those of the bad creation, he sent an angel who created the world in order to save the former from the latter, by the operation of the sun, the moon, and the stars. The sun purifies whatever is mixed with the demons of heat, and the moon whatever is mixed with the demons of cold. According to this scheme the air never ceases to rise, because it is to ascend to its own world, and so do all the particles of light; whilst those of darkness must sink until all the particles of light are redeemed, and the mixture above alluded ceases to exist, which will be the resurrection. This secretion from darkness and elevation of the particles of light is promoted by holiness, by good words, and good acts. The lucid particles are by the morning rays conveyed to the sphere of the moon, thence to the sun, and finally to the uppermost and purest light. This operation will continue until but a small portion of solidified light remains in the world, which neither the sun nor the moon is able to purify. Then the angel who carries the earth will call the angel who attracts the firmament, whereupon the upper and the lower parts of the universe will fall on each other and will kindle a fire, which will burn until all the light it contains is melted. Mání prescribed to his followers four prayers within the day and night, the adoration of God, abstinence from falsehood, murder, theft, adultery, covetousness, sorcery, and idolatry.

Mazdak made his appearance during the reign of Kōbād, whom he induced to profess his religion; but Nushirvān, who knew Mazdak to be an impostor, slew him. The tenets of Mazdak somewhat resemble those of Mání, but with the difference that, according to the former, light is considered to operate wisely and for a purpose, but darkness ignorantly and blindly; according to the Marcionites and Manichæans also, the redemption alluded to above takes place more by a mechanical operation than by the display of intellectual faculties. As Mazdak believed all feuds and murders to be ultimately traceable to women and to property, he maintained that both ought to be enjoyed in common by all, like water and fire. According to this system there were three

original elements, namely, water, fire, and earth. When these commingled they produced the director of good and the director of evil, so that whatever is pure in them became a director of good, and whatever is impure of evil. The God of Mazdak sits in the upper world on a throne, like a king in the nether one, and is attended by four powers, namely, discernment, comprehension, memory, and joy; just as the terrestrial king has four chief ministers, namely, the Mobed of Mobeds, the great Herbad, the commander of the army, and the chief musician.

The four powers just mentioned govern the world through seven Veziers, namely, Sállár, Peshkár, Bálún, Berván, Kárdán,⁹⁰ Destúr, and Kúðak; each of whom is attended by twelve spirits, namely, Káneudeh, Dehende, Sítánende-Burende, Khorende, Duvende, Khizende, Kushende, Zenende, Kunende, Ayinde, Showende, Payinde;⁹¹ moreover, each human being possesses the first-named four powers, but the seven and the twelve have become dominant over them in the nether world, whereas the sovereign of the upper one governs by the letters the sum of which constitutes the ineffable name; if any man knows something about these letters, the great mystery is revealed to him; but he who does not, remains, as to the true balance of the four powers, in ignorance, forgetfulness, folly, and grief.

The account given by Sharastáni of the Christian sects⁹² is as follows:—The Christians are the people of Jesus the Messiah, who was sent in reality after Moses and was predicted in the Pentateuch. He performed evident miracles, such as resuscitating the dead, healing lepers and persons born blind. His very existence and whole nature are a perfect miracle, as he was begotten without human agency, and spoke without having been taught. His mission on earth began with his thirtieth and ended with his thirty-third year. After his mission the Apostles

⁹⁰ The *Dabestán*, Calcutta typogr. ed. 1812, p. 166 has for three of these Veziers *Bánver*, *Dirdán*, and *Kár-rán*, *بانور دیردان کارران* which appear to be better than the Bálún, Berván, and Kárdán of the Arab author.

⁹¹ It may be observed that in this enumeration there are thirteen names given in the Arabic text of Sharastáni, and that therefore either *Sítánende* and *Burende*, or *Ayinde* and *Showende*, which may respectively be considered as nearly synonymous, the former couple meaning *taker* and *carrier*, the latter *comer* and *becomer*, must be taken together so as to reduce the number to twelve, and I have preferred to connect the first-mentioned couple by a hyphen. The *Dabestán* has *Cherendáh*, the grazer or browser, for *Khizende*, the riser, but omits *Kunende*, the *doer*; wherefore the reduction suggested here is not required there.

⁹² P. 171—179

and others began to differ chiefly on two points : firstly, on his descending from heaven, his connection with his mother, and the incarnation of the Word ; and, secondly, on the manner of his ascension, his joining the angels, and on the unification of the Word. One party agreed on the incarnation of the Word, but differed in the details thereof, as some asserted that it shone on the body as the light on a transparent substance ; whilst another party believed that it was impressed thereon like a mark on wax ; and again another asserted that with it the spiritual and physical manifestation took place simultaneously. Others again state that divinity was invested with humanity ; whilst some believe that the Word commingled with the Messiah like milk with water. They attributed three persons to God, but asserted his essence to be one, maintaining that it is spiritual, without bounds or solidity, so that he is one in essence, but three in persons,—by which they meant qualities, such as existence, life, and knowledge,—namely, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, knowledge alone being incarnated. They state that the Jews crucified him from envy and hatred, because they denied his prophetic mission and dignity ; the murder, however, did not extend to the divine, but only to the human portion. The perfection of a human being consists in three things, namely, prophetship, Emamship, and supernatural power. Some prophets were endued with several, or with all these qualities ; but the degree of the Messiah is higher, because he is the only Son, to whom no other prophets can be compared. Through him the transgression of Adam is forgiven, and the human race becomes responsible. There is a difference of opinion about his second coming ; whilst some believe, with the professors of Islām, that his advent will take place before the day of judgment, others assert that he will come only after it. He was crucified, but was seen after his resurrection by Simon Cephas, to whom he spoke, gave advice, and ascended to heaven. His legatee was Simon Cephas, the chief of his Apostles in knowledge, piety, and soundness of doctrine, which Paul mixed with philosophy and the suggestions of his own imagination.

The Melikites are the followers of Melik,⁹³ who assert that the Word became incarnate in the body of the Messiah, and was invested

⁹³ This is of course a mistake of Sharastāni, as the Melikites (spelt Melchites by European authors) obtained their name from the word ملك *melik* in its designation of *king* ; so that the Melikites are literally *royalists*, but were fond of calling themselves Catholics. The Orientals nicknamed them thus because they maintained that the Catholic faith is not based on the Scriptures, but on the arbitrary power of temporal princes.

with its humanity. The Melikites designated the Word as the principle of knowledge, and the Holy Ghost as the principle of life, nor do they call knowledge before being invested therewith the Son, but the Messiah after being so. They believe in the Trinity, but say that the Messiah is wholly and not partly man; he is nevertheless existing from all eternity, and the crucifixion befell both his human and his divine nature. When, however, Arius asserted that God is eternal and the Messiah created; the patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops assembled in Constantinople to the number of 313 men, in the presence of their emperor, and agreed on the following confession of faith:—"We believe in the only God, the Father, the Creator of everything visible; and in his only Son Jesus, the Messiah, the Son of God, the first of all creatures, not made; the true God of the true God, of the nature of his Father, by whose hands the worlds and all things were established; who descended for our sake, and for our salvation, from heaven, became incarnate through the Holy Spirit, was born of the Virgin Mary, was crucified in the time of Pilate, and buried; but rose on the third day, ascended to heaven, and seated himself on the right of his Father, being ready to come for the second time to judge the dead and the quick; and we believe in the only Holy Spirit, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from his Father;⁹⁴ also in one baptism for the pardon of sins; in one holy Messianic Catholic Church; in the resurrection of our bodies to permanent life, lasting for ever and ever."⁹⁵

As Sharastáni speaks of the Nestorians, who flourished during the time of the Khalif Mámún,⁹⁶ and asserts that they had some tenets in common with the Muḥammadan sect of Motazzelites, it will be better to give an account of them from a more authentic source:—Although up to the beginning of the fifth century the *unity* of the *two natures* had been the prevailing doctrine of the Church, Nestorius had in the Syrian school been taught to abhor that doctrine, and to discriminate the *humanity* from the *divinity* of Christ. Whilst patriarch of Constanti-

⁹⁴ "From the Father and the Son": *Book of Common Prayer of the United Church of England and Ireland.*

⁹⁵ Sharastáni, p. 171^c—175. It may here be observed that the principal creeds of Christians are the Apostolic, the Athanasian, and the Nicene which was framed A.D. 325, when Arius was excommunicated by 318 fathers assembled in council at Nicæa. The one given above is of the first-named kind, and is, excepting only the words pointed out in the preceding note, materially the same with that used at present by the Roman Catholic, the United Church of England, and many other churches of Europe and America.

⁹⁶ Reigned from A.D. 812 till 833.

nople, he, although revering the mother of Christ, preached against the use of the expression "mother of God," unknown to the Apostles. Sermons of this kind caused disputes, and the authority of Nestorius was renounced by several congregations. Cyril, the bishop of Alexandria, who professed the incarnation of one nature, became the foe of Nestorius and appealed to the Vatican; and Celestine, feeling greatly flattered, condemned the sentiments of Nestorius and degraded the heretic from his patriarchal dignity; neither the emperor, however, nor the primate of the East, was disposed to obey the mandate of the Italian priest, and a synod was held at Ephesus A.D. 431, which lasted from June till October, where Cyril with his bishops degraded Nestorius, and a synod of 50 Oriental bishops condemned Cyril. The rival synods hurled anathemas at each other, and the difference of opinion resulted in bloodshed, which the meek emperor Theodosius stopped by dissolving the council with the words, "God is my witness that I am not the author of this confusion. His providence will discern and punish the guilty. Return to your provinces, and may your private virtues repair the mischief and scandal of your meeting." When Nestorius perceived that the sect of Cyril was becoming dominant even in Constantinople, he voluntarily abdicated his position of patriarch, A.D. 435, but was persecuted, and at last died in Upper Egypt. Henceforth Nestorianism was persecuted, so that within the space of less than a century after it had been proscribed but few churches of that denomination existed in the Roman empire. But in Persia, where Christianity had been planted by the missionaries of Syria, the Nestorian doctrines flourished; proselytes from the Zend-Avesta to the Gospel increased, and the famous school at Edessa produced many remarkable teachers of Christianity. Although from the first the kings of Persia, but especially the Magi, looked with no favourable eye on the propagation of Christianity, whose professors being of the same religion with their foes the Romans, or more strictly Byzantines, were on that account always believed to be inimical not only to the religion of the country, but also to the government, the fact that the Nestorians were persecuted by the Romans insured to them much more toleration than they would otherwise have enjoyed. This was particularly the case during the reign of Kobád, when the Nestorians entirely separated themselves from the Roman Christians, the intercourse and correspondence with whom had always been disapproved of by the Persian government; and when the Persian clergy universally threw off

the law of celibacy so strictly enforced on monks by the Greek, and on all priests by the Roman hierarchs. The Nestorian became in course of time the most predominant of all Christian sects in Persia, and enjoyed special favours under Nushirván; it is even taken for granted by some authors that his grandson Khosru Parviz was a Christian, and it is believed by some that he himself was a Manichæan.

Prevalence of Nestorianism.

After the demise, or rather the execution, of Babuæus,—described above,—the bishops assembled at Seleucia and elected a relative of his, named Acacius (sat from A.D. 485, died A.D. 489), whom they are, by the so-called orthodox writers, asserted to have compelled to subscribe to the Nestorian doctrines; afterwards he convoked a synod, in which they were publicly fixed, and henceforth predominated in the whole of the East. The synodic book translated from Syriac into Arabic bears the title,—“The Synod of Acacius, in which was present Barsumas; the Metropolitan of Nisibis, and a congregation of the fathers.”⁹⁷ This book appears to embrace only the portion of the canons relating to monks, celibacy, and marriage. It consists of three canons. The first is levelled against certain monks who condemned matrimony and certain kinds of food; the second prohibits them from roaming about towns and villages, and from taking upon themselves the duties of bishops and priests in the administration of the sacraments, but orders them to remain in their convents. The third allows marriage to all priests and laymen, and is as follows:—“Let henceforth no bishop prohibit any man from marrying, and let the calamities which the Christian flock has been subject to from fornication and adultery, rumoured even to strangers, cease. Let, however, marriage be permitted to the clergy and laity in a proper manner, because the Messiah has said that not every one can accept this proposition, and the Apostle says that it is good for a man not to approach a woman, but let him, for the sake of avoiding fornication, adhere to his wife, and I wish that all men could be like myself, but if they cannot contain themselves let them marry. A man must either avoid the world altogether or mix with it piously, and if he be a priest, let him have one wife, as it is written in the letter of the apostle to Timothy.”⁹⁸ Let henceforth no bishop place his hand on a deacon without previous inquiry concerning

⁹⁷ سنهدوس افاق وكان فيجا برصوما مطران نصيبين والجماعة

من الالب

⁹⁸ 1 Tim. iii. 12.

him, and he must have a lawful wife ; and let him who chooses to live in celibacy seek a place far from men ; if, however, he afterwards again returns to worldly affairs, such as marriage and the like, let him be punished, and if he be a priest, divested of his office until he repents. Let a married man have but one wife, and if he transgresses he is to be excommunicated from the Church, and from the dignity of priesthood. An unmarried priest, or one whose wife has died, is not to be forbidden by the bishop to contract a lawful marriage if so inclined, either before or after his ordination as a priest. Let every one opposing this be under an anathema if a layman, and deposed if he be a priest.”⁹⁹

Barhæbræus, one of the above-mentioned orthodox authors, asserts that the predominance of Nestorianism was brought about by violent means, and states that Barsumas, the bishop of Nisibis, spoke as follows to king Firûz :— “ Unless the faith of the Christians living in your dominions be different from that which the Christians of the Greek empire profess, they will never be sincerely loyal to you.” Firûz assented to this opinion, and ordered him to act as he liked. Bar-

” من الان لا يمنع اسقف لاحد من التزويج فيكفى ما مضى من البلاء
في الرعية من الفجور والزنا حتى سمع به القربا * لكن يكون هذا
مباحا في الاقليس والعلماء بين بحسن الراجب * فالسليم قال وليس
كل احد يقتدر على هذه الكلمة والسليم يقول حسن بالانسان الا يدنو
الى امرأة لكن بسبب الزنا يتوسك بزوجه واريد الناس ان يكونوا
مثلى وان لم يصبروا فليزوجوا والانسان ينبغي له ان يعدد العالم
بالجملة او يتصل به بتقوى وان يكون الكاهن هو الذى له زوجة واحدة
على ما في رسالة سليج الى طيماتاوس * ومن الان لا يضع الاسقف يده
على احد بالتشمة الا بعد البحث عنه ويكون له زوجة ناموسية ويامر
بان من يختار ترك الزوج فليطلب مسكنا بعيدا من الناس * فان
عطف على شى من امور الدنيا تزوج وغيره يودب وتحل ان كان كاهنا
من درجته الى ان يتوب والمتزوج يكون له زوجة واحدة * ومن
نعدى هذا يبعد من البيعة ومن درجة الكهنوت والكاهن غير المتزوج
او الذى مات امراته لا يمنعه الا سقف من الزوج الناموسى ان شا
قبل الكهنوت او بعده * ومن خالف هذا كان تحت الحرم ان كان
عالميا ومقطوع ان كان كاهنا *

sumas continued :—"There was a patriarch of the Greeks, a wise and learned man, Nestorius by name, who loved the Persians, and never ceased to exhort the Greeks, saying, 'If you are Christians, you must follow the footsteps of Christ, manifest an humble mind towards your foes, and pray for those who curse you.' On this account he was hated by the Greeks, and removed from the patriarchate. If, therefore, you will give me authority, I will compel all the Christians of your dominions to follow the tenets of that man, for which they will be hated by the Greeks." Firúz being pleased with this advice, Barsumas, supported by Persian soldiers, went forth from Seleucia, travelled to the province of Beth-Garma, and shed much blood of the faithful there. Thence he intended to proceed to Takryt, but the people threatened to divulge all his crimes to Firúz and bring punishment on him, so that he became afraid, departed from them and went to Arbela, the bishop of which place immediately fled to the convent of Cuchta, *i.e.* St. Matthew, on Mount Elpheph. Barsumas, however, captured the bishop with twelve monks, who had taken their last refuge in the caverns of the mountains, and sent them all prisoners to Nisibis. Thence he again came down to Niniveh, and slew ninety priests in the monastery of Biznith, killing also many others in the adjoining villages for refusing to comply with his orders. It is said that the whole number of persons slain by Barsumas amounted to more than 7,700.

The same orthodox writers also state, and put it to the account of the Nestorian doctrines, that sacrilegious marriages and fornications of the bishops, priests, deacons, and laymen were unblushingly celebrated, so that everywhere infants could be seen thrown away, lying in thoroughfares and on dunghills, where dogs tore them to pieces, and that, to obviate this evil, Acacius built a house in which he collected the bastards, and hired nurses to suckle them. This may be so, but it is contrary to common sense and to experience that illegitimate connections and offspring should increase when marriages do.

Acacius having been also sent as ambassador by Firúz to the emperor Zeno, was reprimanded by the Occidental bishops for countenancing the proceedings of the sacrilegious Barsumas, the slayer of Babuæus ; they also threatened to excommunicate him like Barsumas, unless he would deprive the latter of his dignity ; accordingly he promised to pronounce, on his return to Persia, the sentence of deposition against Barsumas ; but as to the Nestorian heresies, of which they likewise accused him, he assured them that Xenaias, a foe of the Orientals, had so nicknamed

them. When, however, he arrived in Persia, he found that Barsumas had died long before, having, it is said, been assailed in the church by the nuns of Mount Abdin and slain with the keys of their cells. His successor was the metropolitan Hosce, and shortly afterwards Narses also died, after having governed the school of Nisibis during half a century.

Firúz began to reign A.D. 457 and died 483. During this period of a quarter of a century, Firúz had once been removed from the throne and again recovered it, but towards the end of his reign he was involved in wars with the Huns; at that time Armenia was governed by Persian governors, but Vahan the Manigonian, profiting by the embarrassment in which the king found himself, revolted, expelled his generals and proclaimed (A.D. 481) prince Sahag, of the race of the Pagratides, as Marzbán, and prepared to uphold the independence he had just acquired, by entering into an alliance with Vakthang, the king of Iberia, and with the Huns. A'mru, who describes the death of Firúz, says, that "when he returned from the region of the Turks [strictly Huns] he ascribed his safety to his own prowess, returned also to his wickedness, and determined to extirpate the Christian religion; but as he again went to war against the Turks [Huns] he ordered a certain Marzbán to demolish the churches and convents by the time he came back. Accordingly he destroyed the school of St. Abdas, from which the Christians fled, but he encountered them and slew three hundred of them in one day. When the Turks [Huns] perceived that he had returned to them, they attacked and put him to flight, slaying many of his companions; and he, being afraid that they might capture him, committed suicide with his own sword, so that the world was delivered of his wickedness, and God granted tranquillity to his Church from his hand."¹⁰⁰ He was succeeded by Balash, under whom, as appears

¹⁰⁰ *Chronologia Regum Pers.,—Bibl. Or., tom. III. pt. 1., p. 398:—*

وبعد عود فيروز من بلد الترك قدّران سلامتہ كانت بنفسه عادّ الى شرّ ورام ابطال دين النصرانية وعاود الترك وتقدم الى مرزبان كان له ان يهدم البيع والديارات الى حين عوده فهدم اسكول مارعبدا وهرب النصراني وفي يوم واحد قتل في اجتيازه ثلثمائة رجل من النصراني • ولما راي الترك رجوعه اليهم حاربوه وهزموه و قتلوا خلقًا من اصحابه وخاف ان يوحّده اسيرًا فقتل نفسه بسيفه وكفيت الدنيا شرّ و اراح الله البيعه من يده

from the following reply of Zeno sent after a request to lend him money, Nisibis was still in the possession of the Persians :— “ As to the taxes of the Nisibians which you illegally raise, as they for a long time rightly belong to the Romans, you may have them ; but nothing more of what you desire.”¹⁰¹

Balash expelled the barbarians who had entered Persia, and made, through his general Shápúr, peace with the above-mentioned Vahan, on condition that the Armenians should be allowed the free exercise of their religion. Vahan presented himself (A.D. 485) at the court of Persia, where he was honourably received, and obtained the dignity of Marzbán. During his administration Vahan was engaged in repairing the injuries which the war had inflicted on Armenia, and in repairing the churches. About this time the heresy of Eutyches spread in Armenia, and infected almost every priest. Vahan died during the reign of king Kōbād, the brother of Balash, after having peacefully governed his country during twenty-six years. Balash reigned only four years, being deprived of his eyesight by the faction of the Magi, and removed from the government on the pretence that he had defiled water, and had disregarded their laws by his intention of constructing baths,—because the Magi worshipped not only fire, but also water, and accused those of sacrilege who polluted it.¹⁰²

When Kōbād ascended the throne, he sent ambassadors with an immense elephant to Zeno,¹⁰³ desiring him to despatch the promised sum of money. When the envoys arrived in Antioch they found that Anastasius had ascended the throne ; accordingly Kōbād instructed them to ask the money from the latter on peril of a declaration of war against him. Anastasius declared that he would never comply with a demand his predecessor had refused to assent to, especially as the Persians were still in possession of Nisibis, which they ought, according to the provisions of the treaty, to have surrendered. Anastasius had also been informed that Kōbād persecuted the Armenian Christians subject to Persia because they would not adore fire, and was moreover favouring a new Zoroastrian or Magian heresy, according to which the promiscuous use of women was made licit. As soon as the Armenians heard of the refusal of Anastasius to comply with the demands of

¹⁰¹ Chronicle of Joseph Stylites the Syrian, who flourished in the 5th century : *ibid.* pp. 262 *seq.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Died on the 9th April A.D. 490.

Ḳobād, they again revolted from the Persians, demolished their pyræums, and having slain the Magi, with other inhabitants of Persian origin, they put the Marzbān of Ḳobād to flight with his army, offering allegiance to Anastasius, which, however, he refused to accept, as he was unwilling to give Ḳobād a cause for war. Meanwhile rebellions arose in various localities of Persia against Ḳobād, whom his own magnates hated because he had allowed adulterous connections with their women; and the Arab subjects of Persia, perceiving the state of confusion it was in, frequently made predatory incursions.¹⁰⁶ Ḳobād was removed from the government, which circumstance is narrated as follows in A'mru's life of Acacius:—"When Ḳobād Ben Firúz was made king he constructed watercourses, built towns, and intended to strengthen the sect of Zoroaster by allowing promiscuous connections of women and men; accordingly they commingled. This, however, so incensed the Magi on account of their women that they endeavoured to bring about his deposition, which they also accomplished."¹⁰⁵

During the brief reign of Jamasp the layman Babæus,¹⁰⁶ who had a wife and sons, was, after the demise of Acacius in Seleucia, elected Catholicus. A'mru says concerning him—"After his ordination he assembled the fathers in a synod, in which he removed the anathemas between Babæus, Barsumas, and Acacius; ordered all the ministers of the Church, the priests and deacons, to marry, and that none should be without a wife whilst mixing with the world, in order to keep himself from falling into sin; and that each of them should have one wife openly and publicly, as the law prescribes."¹⁰⁷ Babæus presided over

¹⁰⁶ Josue Stylites in his chronicle, *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, vol. I., p. 265.

¹⁰⁵ ولما ملك قباد بن فيروز استخرج الهياة وبني المدن وراي
ان يقوي مذهب زرا تشت في اباحة النساء والرجال واباحت البعض
مع البعض وغلظ ذلك علي المجوس لاجل نسايتهم واجتهدوا الي ان
خلق •

¹⁰⁶ This Babæus is not to be confounded with the Catholicus Babuæus, whom, as was noticed above, Firúz had ordered to be suspended by the finger on which he wore his patriarchal ring, and whose body being afterwards taken to Hira was there venerated as that of a martyr.

¹⁰⁷ ومن بعد ما اصيم جمع الابا وعمل منها ذوا وابطال الحروس
التي كانت بين بابري وبرصوما واقاق وامر ان يزوج خدم البيعة
سايرهم والقسان والشامسة ولا يكون بغير زوجة وهو بين العالم

the Church five years, and died A.D. 503. It is curious to observe in contrast to A'mru, who calls this Babæus a good and religious prelate who had brought up a family, what Simeon, who was bishop of Beth-Arsam from A. D. 510 till 525, says concerning him, at the conclusion of a letter on the Nestorian heresy :—" We likewise anathematize Mares of Taala, teacher of Babæus the Catholicus : for under this Babæus the Catholicus, this Mares arose, propagating the doctrine of Paul of Samosata and of Diodorus among the Arameans, which also the Catholicus Babæus, son of Hormisdas, who had been the scribe of Zabargan, the Marzbán of the Arameans [Assyrians], adopted from him."¹⁰⁸

It has been observed above that Kobád had been removed from the throne for favouring the tenets of Mazdak,¹⁰⁹ who appears, however,

ليحفظ نفسه من الوقوع في الخطية ويكون لكل واحد امرأة واحدة
ظاهرا جليا كأمير المرس

¹⁰⁸ *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, I., p. 358.

¹⁰⁹ It will not be out of place here to give some account of this Zoroastrian heresiarch. According to Oriental sources Mazdak was a man of learning, born at Nishapúr, who established himself at Madayn, the Persian capital, where he assumed the rôle of a prophet, and produced a book of his own composition, named *Dysnaur*, containing his tenets. He professed to adhere to the two great principles of Zoroastrianism, which served as an introduction to others not in conformity therewith, and as a kind of palliative to make the latter acceptable. He stated that the world had two creators—a good one, namely light, called Yazdán; and a bad one, namely darkness, called Ahriman. All intelligences, spirits, the heavens and stars, are creations of Yazdán, as well as the elements, with their compounds, mines of gold and silver, fruit-trees, living animals, and virtuous men; and nothing but good comes from Yazdán. But the burning of animals by fire, the killing of living things by poison, the submersion of ships in water, the cutting of bodies with iron, the stinging of them by thorns, as well as all beasts of prey, are the contrivances of Ahriman. As Ahriman has no entrance to heaven, it is called Behesht; it begins also above the nether world, where Ahriman has influence. Whatever Ahriman has formed cannot abide. Thus, for instance, Yazdán gives life, but Ahriman death; Yazdán created Behesht (paradise), but Ahriman: Dauzakh (hell). Adoration and prayers are due to Yazdán, whose realm is great; but Ahriman has no influence except in the elemental world. Whoever is Yazdáni his soul will enter paradise, and who is an Ahrimani will abide in hell. Therefore he is a wise man who keeps himself aloof from Ahriman, although Ahriman may tempt him, to make him believe that when he is delivered of the body his soul will go to heaven. Existence has two agents; the one is light, and the other darkness, which metaphorically represent Yazdán and Ahriman. Acts of light are performed by design, but acts of darkness by accident; everything good and profitable comes from light, whilst everything evil and wicked proceeds from darkness. So far the tenets of Mazdak agree with Zoroastrianism, but the following ones are contrary to it, and proclaim him to be the father of modern communism:—He preached community of property and of wives, asserting that every strife and contention in the world could always be traced to property and women; wherefore they ought to be enjoyed in common with all men, so that whoever does not agree

to have enjoyed some popularity even after the death of the king, and

to this division must be considered an adherent of Ahriman, and forcibly deprived of whatever he possesses. Mazdak is said to have converted Kobád to his views by pretending to be able to hold a conversation with fire, and that he concealed a man in a pyraum where he performed the miracle. It is more probable that the great popularity of Mazdak with the lowest orders may have induced the king, for the sake of his personal safety, to comply with his demands, than that he should have sincerely and voluntarily encouraged the propagation of doctrines subversive of all order and morality in the state. It may readily be believed that Mazdak was soon joined by multitudes of poor wretches who had nothing to lose, and everything to gain, by following his new religion; as well as that the utmost confusion arose from a mixture of both sexes and all classes, and that profligacy must have been indulged in to a great extent. It is even narrated that Mazdak himself one day made his way to the private apartments of the king, with the intention of engaging in amorous intercourse with the mother of Nushirván, who, although greatly shocked at the impostor's temerity, feared Kobád's wrath, and falling imploringly at Mazdak's feet, which he kissed, succeeded in warding off the dreaded calamity. Afterwards, when Nushirván ascended the throne, he first kept on good terms with Mazdak, as a matter of policy, in order to put him off his guard; when, however, the proper opportunity had arrived, he invited the heresiarch to a meeting, with all his adherents, in order to grant them some favours. On the appointed day Mazdak collected all his followers, on which occasion also Mundir Ben Ma-al-samá, whom Kobád had deprived of the government of Hírah for having refused to accept the religion of the impostor, happened to be present. Nushirván opened the meeting by saying to Mazdak, "I would ask the lord of this realm to grant me two wishes." Mazdak asked, "What are they?" The monarch continued, "One is that this high personage, who is Mundir, should be reseated on his throne at Hírah, and the other not to leave one of your followers alive." Mazdak replied, "O king, you cannot slay the inhabitants of the whole earth, because they are all my followers." Nushirván said, "Mazdak, I shall first discuss the tenets of your religion with you, and punish you after having demonstrated their falsity." Nushirván followed the doctrines of Timshar Sásán, some of whose disciples were forthwith produced to refute and abase the religion of Mazdak. Nushirván asked Mazdak, "Is it proper to give the same wages to a man who has worked and to one who has not?" Mazdak said, "That would be unjust." Nushirván continued, "Why, then, do you promulge the tenet that the property accumulated by one man should be given to another who had no hand in acquiring it?" He further asked, "One man ploughs and sows a field; will the harvest be his own, or will it belong to a man who has not laboured to produce it?" Mazdak replied, "It belongs to him who sowed it." Nushirván said, "How, then, do you assign one man's wife to another, and confuse families?" He further asked, "If one man kills another, how is the murderer to be punished?" Mazdak rejoined, "I do not approve of capital punishment, because if the murderer has committed evil it is not proper for us to do so likewise." Nushirván continued, "If we do not slay him, he may kill ten others. It is better to destroy the life of one man than that ten should perish." He further said, "O wicked man, the law you promulge is calculated to overthrow the government, and to annihilate obedience; because in consequence of it all family ties would be abolished, wicked men would cause anarchy, and the wealth of the nation would be dissipated." After these words he became more incensed with wrath, and shouted, "O Mazdak, from the day I kissed your feet, the stench of your stockings has been in my nostrils!" Then he issued orders to kill Mazdak, whereon he was immediately slain and hung on a gibbet. On the same day 100,000 of his followers lost their lives; and gallows having been erected between Nushirván and Madayn they were hanged on

was destroyed only by his successor and son, Nushirvân. Kōbād died, however, on the throne, A.D. 531, to which he had again been restored A.D. 499, after his exile. Silas, the archdeacon of Babæus, became his successor during the reign of Kōbād. Silas is accused of pride, luxury, and intemperance by those who call themselves orthodox writers; they also state that he gave the ornaments of the Church to his own son, and that being reproved for it by one Mar-Athan he excommunicated him. He appointed the physician Elisæus, who had married his daughter, to succeed him. Silas was nevertheless honoured by Kōbād because he was the head of the Christian Church, as well as for the sake of the Borak of Josak, the bishop of Ahvâz, who had cured Kōbād of a disease, and had, when peace was restored, been allowed to build churches. Silas died A.D. 523, after governing the Church during eighteen years. A'mru confirms the above by saying that "Kōbād honoured him [Silas] on account of Yuzak, the bishop of the province of Ahvâz, because he had cured him of a disease, and that therefore the Christians enjoyed tranquillity, and churches were built."¹¹⁰ By Christians A'mru of course means Nestorians, who enjoyed religious liberty; whilst on the other hand Barhebræus states that Kōbād did not favour them, but the orthodox party:—"There [*i.e.* among the Huns, whom Barhebræus^{110a} wrongly calls Greeks, and to whom Kōbād had temporarily fled after being supplanted on the throne by Jamâsp] he learnt the true state of the Christians and of the Nestorians in his dominions—namely, that the latter dissented from all the faithful, and followed tenets which all other sects had rejected and damned. He knew also how his father Firûz had given power to

them. All the wives taken away by the followers of Mazdak from their husbands were restored to them. Much property was also restored to the rightful owners, or to their heirs.—G. Rawlinson, in his *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 342, states that Mazdak was, according to some, an Archimagus or High Priest of the Zoroastrian religion: so that the above-quoted opinion of A'mru, that Kōbād "intended to strengthen the sect of Zoroaster," may perhaps not be as absurd as it seems; it is possible that Mazdak first used Zoroastrianism as a cloak for introducing his new religion, and gaining the favour of the king.

¹¹⁰ و كان قباد بكرمه بسبب يوزق استقف الاهواز لانه شفا من علة

كان به وكان النصراني لاجل ذلك علي سكون و بنيت البيع

^{110a} He is also known by the name of Abulfaraj, and wrote, in Arabic as well as in Syriac, works on medicine, philosophy, history, and the Christian religion. Pococke edited and translated his *تاريخ مختصر الدول Historia Compendiosa Dynastiaram*, in 1663 and 1683.

Barsumas, who had tyrannized over the faithful in order to alienate them from the tenets of the Occidental fathers. Wherefore he [Kobád] hated them vehemently, but mostly because he had seen their [spiritual] fathers—namely, the Catholicus and the bishops—defiling themselves by wicked marriages, and holding fornication as of no account.¹¹¹ At that time, namely, there was an orthodox priest, Simeon by name, in Beth-Arsam, a village near Seleucia, who, when he obtained information about the opinions of king Kobád, waited on him, and obtained his mandate to travel all over the country of Sennaar and over the whole of Persia, in order to encourage the orthodox freely to build convents and to rebuff the impetus of the Nestorians. This he did, and wherever he went he obtained signatures from Armenians, Greeks, and Syrians who acknowledged that they differed from the faith of the Nestorians; all these signatures he brought to the king, who confirmed them by affixing his royal seal. These declarations were called the writings of confession, and deposited in the church of Takrit [Myasärekyñ, Martyropolis], which alone had escaped the corruption of Barsumas.”¹¹² This partiality of Kobád towards the so-called orthodox Christians is not borne out by history, inasmuch as, according to Barhebræus himself, who has just been quoted in support of it, Kobád did not afford his countenance to Narses, the orthodox successor of Silas, but to his Nestorian son-in-law, Elisæus, who not only overawed his orthodox rival, but threw him into prison, where he died.¹¹³ At last, however, Elisæus himself was ejected by the bishops, —not, however, before the cessation of the schism, during which both

¹¹¹ As Kobád patronized the doctrines of free love promulgated by Mazdak, it is not likely that he would have been greatly shocked at the marriages of priests. But, if we are to believe the *Shāhnāmah*, Kobád became acquainted with Mazdak only after his restoration to the throne. The great following Mazdak had obtained among the poor may be concluded from the fact that he led them during a time of dearth to pillage the granary of the king, with whom his influence was likewise so great that he could at any time gain access to the royal palace and the sovereign, who not only condoned this and other crimes of the impostor, but outwardly even professed to adhere to his doctrines, which he must have detested inwardly. The communism of Mazdak is very well summed up in the following four distichs:—

ههنگفت هرکو توانگر بود	تهیدست بار برا بر بود
نباید که باشد کسی بر فزود	توانگر بود نارو درویش بود
جهان راست باید که باشد بچیز	فزونی توانگر حرامست نیز
زن و خانه و چیز بخشید نیست	تهیدست کسی باتوانگر یکیت

¹¹² *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pars 1., pp. 403 seq.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, II. p. 409.

parties respectively ordained their own priests, and which subsisted for fifteen years.¹¹⁴ Paul, the successor of Elisæus, was also a married man and had children of both sexes; he was originally an adherent of Magism, but is said to have become a Christian after witnessing a miracle. After his baptism he travelled in the Roman provinces, and studied the Greek language under Thomas of Edessa, with whom he went to Constantinople, where both of them refused to subscribe to the censures of the three fathers Dioscorus, Theodorus, and Nestorius. On being made Catholicus he established a school at Seleucia, or perhaps only enlarged it. Being, however, taken to task on account of the people of Gardisapor, who had sided with Nushizâd, the son of Nushirvân, in his rebellion against his own father, Paul reprimanded them sharply, but was nevertheless afterwards under the necessity of collecting money in order to redeem their church from destruction. He is said to have written tracts against the Magi on idolatry, in the sixteenth year of his episcopate, A.D. 535, and was buried at Hirah.

After this notice of Paul, the last part of whose life fell into the beginning of the reign of Nushirvân, it may be proper to observe that the leniency which his father, Kôbâd, manifested towards the Christians must be limited to the latter part of his reign, when his wars with the Romans (*i.e.* Byzantines) had ceased, as he was during these struggles persecuting Christians not only from religious, but also from political motives, they being professors of a faith different from his own, but the same with that of his foes.¹¹⁵ The same alternation of peace and persecution of Christians appears to have continued also during

¹¹⁴ The text of A'mru, of which the above is the substance, on the schism during the time of Elisæus and Narses, may be seen in *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pars I., p. 167.

¹¹⁵ A'mru piously attributes the leniency shown by Kôbâd towards Christians during the latter part of his reign to a miracle, saying—

وفي هذه الأيام فتح قباد الامد وانه سمع شخصا يقول له توقف فانك تفتحها فلما دخلها رأى صورت سيدنا في البيعة فقال هذا وهو يقول لي توقف فاننى افتحها على يدك فسجد للصورت وكف عن النصارى

"In these days Kôbâd took Amida, for he heard a man saying to him, 'Remain, for thou wilt conquer it.' When he entered the town he saw the picture of our Lord in the church; and he said, 'It is this one who has said to me, 'Remain, for I shall cause thee to conquer it.' Accordingly he worshipped the image, and abstained from persecuting the Christians."

Nushirvân's long reign of forty-eight years, which began A.D. 531, and ended A.D. 579. In the thirteenth year of Justinian,¹¹⁶ Nushirvân undertook his first expedition against the Romans, in which he took and destroyed Antioch, but fought also during the next four years with the Romans. He concluded (A.D. 545) a truce with Justinian for five years, and afterwards renewed it. Again (A.D. 556) he restored for five years more the peace which had been interrupted, renewing it again A.D. 561 and keeping it till A.D. 572, when he declared war against the Romans, which he carried on till A.D. 579, when he died. Authors here again differ, according to the sects to which they themselves belonged and which they favoured, whether Nushirvân was friendly to the orthodox or to the Nestorian party. Assemani, who wrote in Rome, is of the former opinion, which he supports by a long quotation from Barhebræus in Syriac; but Renaudot is of the latter.¹¹⁷ A'mru, as may be expected, states that Nushirvân, who was addicted to philosophy, professed Manichæism, and preferred it to Zoroastrianism, and loved Christians,¹¹⁸ by which he of course means his own Nestorian sect. Nushirvân associated on the most familiar terms with Abas, i.e. Mar-Abas (the prefixed Mar meaning Saint), the Nestorian patriarch, whom he had first ordered to be imprisoned at the instigation of the Magi, but afterwards used as a councillor and helper, chiefly in the expedition against his own son,¹¹⁹ who had

¹¹⁶ Justinian began to reign A.D. 527, and Tiberius A.D. 578.

¹¹⁷ Tom. I., *Liturg. Orient.*, p. 360, and tom. II. in the Pref.—*Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pars I., p. 407.

¹¹⁸ نوشیروان کان متفلسفا محبا للنصارى فظهر مذهب مانى وعدل
عن مذهب زرادشت وهوالذى بنى الايوان با سفائيرة

¹¹⁹ This son of Nushirvân was also, according to the *Shâhnâmâh*, by a Christian wife, who was very beautiful:—

بدین مسیحا بد آن ماهروي ز دیدار او شهر پر گفتگوی

The rebellious son of Nushirvân adhered to the religion of his mother:—

چودوزخ بدانست و راه بهشت	عزیز و مسیح و ره زرد هشت
نیامد همی زند و استش درست	دوزخ را به آب مسیحا بشت
زدین پدر کیش مادر گرفت	زمانه مانده اندر شگفت
چنان ننگدل گشت از او شهریار	که از گل نیامد جز از خار بار
در کاخ فرخنده ایوان اوی	ببستند و کردند زندان اوی
نشستنکاهش کرد شاه پور بود	از ایوان و نزد پدر دور بود

rebelled in the district of Gard-i Shápúr, causing Joseph, who had formerly obliged him by most acceptable services as a medical man, to occupy the post of Marabas; afterwards, however, he again removed Joseph from the episcopate, in order to satisfy the wishes of certain bishops led by Narses the physician of Nisibis. Ezechiel, the successor of Joseph after his death, was the companion of Nushirván in his journey to Nisibis.¹²⁰ Now further notice is to be taken of the primates thus briefly adverted to:—

Aba, whom the Nestorians usually call Mar-Aba, i.e. St. Aba, had been converted to Christianity from the sect of the Magi, and studied the Syriac language in Nisibis, whence he went also to Edessa. He was ordained A.D. 536, and died at Hīrah A.D. 552, in the twenty-first year of Nushirván, after occupying the episcopal seat for sixteen years and a few months. The schism which arose during the time of Narses and Elisæus was removed by him, and A'mru adds that he also established canons,¹²¹ and says that "he assembled the fathers, and strictly prohibited any one having a wife from ever becoming a bishop, considering what had ensued under the king of Persia during the time of Barsumas, the metropolitan of Nisibis, and his forcing the fathers to marry."¹²² Barhebræus, alluding to a conversation between the king and Aba, says, "The king asked, 'Where in the world does a Catholicus or a bishop cohabit with a woman, as you do, or a priest marry a wife when the first dies, and after her another, as your priests do?' The Catholicus replied, 'As to women, I have no wife, nor ever had one. But my predecessors took to this according to the injunction of

From the last distich it appears that Assemani, as well as G. Rawlinson, who spells Gard-i Shápúr *Gondi-Sapor*, and imitates him (*Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 449), are wrong in their orthography. *Gard* is analogous to the English *garden*, *L. hortus*, and also an affix as in the Persian 'Darabgard' and German 'Stuttgart.' The town is in some copies of the *Shāhnámah* also spelt جند شاپور but this arabized form is much older than that book, as the *Kitāb-Al-Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, p. ۲۱۴), which was written about the middle of the tenth century of our era, shows the form جند يسابور

¹²⁰ *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. 1., p. 406.

¹²¹ من بعد جهد و ابطل التباينة التي ادخلها نرسي واليسع في الجثلة ورتب القرائين
¹²² جمع الابا ومنع من ان يصير اسقفا او فطرکا من كانت له زوجة
 البتة منعاً قاطعاً لما كان قد جرى من ملك الفرس في زمان برصوما
 مطران نصيبين وغصبه الابا على الزوج

the holy apostle who said, "It is better to marry than to be burnt by lust." As to priests marrying several wives, one after another, it is nowhere prohibited.'"¹²³ The disputation of Nushirván with Aba, described by Barhebraeus, in which the former ordered the latter to abjure Nestorianism and to embrace Magism or Christianity, appears to be unworthy of credit. The same author also adds that after Aba's refusal to comply with either of the two propositions, he was from the city of Seleucia exiled to Adarbaiján, whence he returned to his church without the permission of the king, and was thrown into prison, where he died. A'mru also reports that Aba was thrown into prison, but does not mention that he died in it; his words are, "And the king ordered him [i.e. Aba] to be fettered with iron, and he suffered punishment for a time; the king also ordered several bishops to be slain and crucified, on account of the dissensions between them and the Romans."¹²⁴ About this time also the Armenians appear to have suffered persecution, as Ten-Shápúr, who had (A.D. 548) been appointed Marzbán of Armenia by Nushirván, not only himself greatly persecuted the inhabitants, in order to induce them to abandon the Christian religion, but his successors likewise.¹²⁵

Joseph, being the physician of the king, was elected by his order, A.D. 552, but was deposed three years afterwards, as the influence of Moses—called above Narses—the physician of Nisibis, and of Simeon the bishop of Anbara, who were in favour at court, was made use of to obtain from the king the permission to remove him.¹²⁶ The account of A'mru agrees pretty well with this statement, but according to him St. Simeon, the bishop of Anbara, died in prison, as appears from the following passage which he wrote on the deposition of Joseph:—"The deposed Joseph understood medicine and had learnt it in the country of the Greeks, where he dwelt in a convent and connected himself with a certain Marzbán, so that mention of him was made to Nushirván in a disease which he succeeded in curing after being called; and he also deceived the people by his exterior appearance [of probity]; he was accordingly, after the demise of Mar-Aba,

¹²³ *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. I., pt. II., p. 412.

¹²⁴ فامر الملك شدة بالحديد فمكت مدة معدبا و امر الملك بقتل

جماعة من الاساقفة وصلبهم لمخالفة جرت بينهم وبين ملك روم

¹²⁵ St. Martin, *Mémoires hist. et géogr. sur l'Arménie*, tom. I., p. 330.

¹²⁶ *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. II., p. 413.

elected patriarch with the permission of Nushirván. He established twenty-two canons during the second year, and governed the church during three. He changed, however, his behaviour, and confiding in the favour of the Marzbán of Kesra, he expelled bishops, tied priests to mangers, vexed them, meditated their ruin, and cast St. Simeon, the bishop of Anbara, into prison. St. Simeon, being for a long time in captivity, constructed an altar in the prison for the purpose of celebrating the liturgy, but Joseph entered the prison and trod the oblation under foot, and the bishop died in prison. He also removed the bishop of the Zabarians in No'mámah from his seat, who, however, being acquainted with medicine and with the Persian language, appealed to the king, by whom he was relieved of his apprehensions, and to whom also Malechus, the bishop of Darabgard, had gone and obtained a diploma of safety ; which, however, so displeased Joseph that he tore it up. When the people of Fárs heard of this [act of disloyalty], they expunged Joseph's name from the sacred books of the church. When, however, his crimes, such as bearing false witness against the faithful, and stealing a precious jewel from the treasury of the king, had augmented, the fathers and the faithful assembled and wrote letters to him, which he despised ; accordingly they appealed to the judgment of the king, to which he refused to submit, on the strength of being the Catholicus. Then the fathers present anathematized him, with the consent of those who were absent, but he took no notice of them, ordained priests, and celebrated the liturgy. The people complained to the king, and Narses of Nisibis proffered the parable that a king had once presented with an elephant a certain poor man, who, however, when he arrived at home, and considered how he might feed the beast, begged the king to excuse him from accepting the present. The king understood this parable, and excused the people for removing Joseph the Catholicus."¹²⁶⁶ The habit of Joseph to tie persons to a manger is

١٢٦٦ يوسف المقتدر كان يفهم الطب وتعلمه في بلد الديونانيين
فأقام بها في دير هناك واتصل بمرزبان كان بها ووصف لا نوشيروان
عند علقه وحضر وعوفى على يديه واختدع الناس بظاهرة * ولما
استنح مازابا عقدت له الفطركة باذن نوشيروان وعمل في السنة
الثانية لبعودة اثني وعشرين قانونا ودبر الامر ثلث سنين وتغير
اعتقد بمرزبان كسري وطرد الا ساقفه وشد القسان علي المعالف
فكان يمتدهم ويعتمد صرفهم وحبس القديس شمعون استشف الابرار

also alluded to by Barhebræus (Part 3, *Chron. Syr.*), as follows:—
 'When he [Joseph] was invited by some man of the people, he ordered his servants to tie him to a manger, and to place a halter on his head, as if he were an ass.'

Ezechiel was elected A.D. 567, after the death of Joseph, till which time the seat appears to have been vacant. Ezechiel was a tall old man when he began to govern the church as patriarch. He was well skilled in secular affairs and learned in the sciences, although he had at first been only the baker of Mar Aba, whose disciple he afterwards became, and who finally appointed him bishop of the Zabarians. When Joseph was ejected from the patriarchate, he was ordained in his place, as he had gained the protection of the king by some services, and enjoyed also the protection of Marzuvy the physician. He reconciled the partizans of Joseph by condoning their faults, and appears to have been liked by the lower clergy, but not the higher, as he refused to grant absolution to Bacchus the metropolitan,—although the latter had greatly praised him in a sermon,—and had only promised to do so; meanwhile, however, Bacchus died. During his time also a terrible plague raged in Persia, which was followed by death, and the country was depopulated. Paulus the Persian flourished about A.D. 570, and was a contemporary of the patriarch Ezechiel,

و مع طول امدد اتخذ الاسقف لنفسه مذبحا في الحبس ليقدس عليه
 فدخل يوسف وداس الثربان ومات الاسقف في حبسه وصرف
 اسقف الزوابي عن كرسيه يعني اسقف النعمانية وكان هذا يعرف الطب
 و اللغة الفارسية فتوصل الي الملك وخف علي قلبه وقصده مار صالح
 اسقف دار لجرد فنجيز له كذاب الملك بالعيانة فععب ذلك علي يوسف
 وخرق الكتاب لما سمع هذا اهل فارس قطعوا خطبه ولما نزايدت
 وبابسه فيها شهادته علي المؤمنين بالزور وانه سرق من خزنة الملك
 عندا جنبا اجتمع الابرار والمؤمنين وراسلوه فامتنع رسالتهم فتقدم
 الملك المحاكمة فامتنع احتجاجا بانه خائب وقهره الابرار الحاضرون
 فاجتمع القديسين وام ينفقت الدم وكان يسيم ويقدر وشكروا امرة
 الي الملك وضرب نرسي العبدني الملك في معذاة مذلان ملكا وهب
 بعض المسلمين فذلك فلما صار الي داره وفكر في موته استغفي الملك
 منه وعزم الملك على ان يذل و عفاهم عن يوسف السجائيق وكان
 موته حرة و عفاهم عنه

in whose life he is mentioned by Barhebræus only;¹²⁶ according to him Paulus was erudite both in sacred and in worldly lore; he cultivated also philosophy, and wrote an admirable treatise on dialectics; but desiring to be elected metropolitan of Persia, and not obtaining the suffrages of the people, he went over to the sect of the Magi. Bud Periodēvtes, the visiting presbyter among the Persian Christians dwelling on the frontiers of India, was likewise a contemporary of the patriarch Ezechiel about A.D. 570, and is said to have translated the book *Kalilah va Damnah* from Sanskrit into Syriac.¹²⁷

About this time the Christians of Persia appear to have enjoyed full religious liberty, which had been guaranteed to them already some years before, namely A.D. 561, when peace with Justinian had been concluded. "Clauses were inserted in this treaty by which Christians were allowed to build churches, to perform their sacred ceremonies without any fear, to celebrate thanksgivings, and to chant hymns to God, as is customary among ourselves, and not to be forced to be present at Magian ceremonies, or unwillingly to worship the gods considered by the Medes to be gods. On that account, however, Christians were not to make any attempts to draw the followers of Magism to their own opinion. He [namely Petrus, commander of the prætorian cohorts, and ambassador from Justinian to Nushirvân] also obtained permission for the Christians to bury their dead in sepulchres, and to perform the funeral rites due to them according to our own usages."¹²⁸ Justinian, however, who at home persecuted both the Nestorians and the Monophysites, was naturally anxious that also in Persia Catholics alone should be protected.

It appears that in times of persecution priests and monks assumed the garb of laymen, not only with the approbation but by the command of their superiors, and many were not inclined to change their costume again when the danger ceased. During the time of the patriarch Mar-Aba, says A'mru, "the monk Abraham of Casarea flourished, who was a learned philosopher and ascetic, and during whose time the monastic rules were published in Persia. He established a difference between the garb of monks and heretics; he moreover arranged the establishment of hermitages and cells [under separate roofs], which were formerly [under one roof, like] general monasteries.

¹²⁶ *Syriac Chron.*, pt. III.

¹²⁷ *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. I., p. 219.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 409.

He lived for some time in a cave in the district of Hazah, whence he went to Jerusalem, and afterwards met the saints in Egypt. Then he lived thirty years in his first dwelling-place, supporting life on bread and a few vegetables only. Lastly he went to Jurba, namely, the country of the north, to whose inhabitants he preached, and whom he alienated from the worship of idols after suffering great persecution from them, but he guided them by miracles [to Christianity], and refuted them [in their idolatry]. He built a number of churches, and wrote a book on monastic rules. He died in Hazah, but his coffin was stolen in the night, and he was buried in his own town. His disciple Job converted his cave into a hermitage, which is also now known by the name of 'Job's hermitage.' This Job was a native of the town of Ardashir, where his father was a very rich merchant who had built a hospital. One day Job happened to fall sick, and after for some time considering the vanities of this world he made a vow to abandon them; after recovering from his malady he went to Abraham, received the tonsure, and learnt the ordinances of monasticism. He then took up his abode in the hermitage of St. Abraham at Natfara, where he translated the sermons of this Abraham, as well as the rules of St. Abraham of Cascara, from the Syriac into Persian. After the demise of his two associates, Isaias and Elisæus, who had in former times taught him monasticism, other monks gathered around him. He also cured a number of sick persons before his death. When it had been divinely revealed to him that his death was near at hand, he immediately invited the people to his presence, but without informing them of the cause. On Wednesday in the last week of St. Elias [he died], but he had on the preceding Sunday eaten food with the monks after the liturgy, and had, after imparting to them his blessing, retired to his cell. When the people made their appearance on Wednesday, and had waited three hours at the door of his hermitage, they went up to his cell, where they found him wrapped up and prostrated before the cross."¹²⁰

¹²⁰ وفي ابامه كان ابراهيم الكشكري الراهب وكان فيلسوفا عالما زاهداً
في ابامه عرفت قوانين الرهبنة في بلد الفرس وخالف بين زعي
الرهبان والمراطقة وطكس الاعمار والقلالي وكانت من قبل كالدبارات
واقام في مغارة في بلد حرة مدة وقصد بيت المقدس ولقى القديسين

Hormuzd IV., the son and successor of Nushirvân, after his death, was, after a reign of more than eleven years, dethroned (A.D. 590) by the Persian generals Behram Chubin and Firúz.¹⁵⁰ The Catholicus, Jesujab I., who succeeded Ezechiel, was elected by order of Hormuzd IV. with the consent of the bishops, A.D. 581, and died, according to A'mrû, A.D. 596, which date is, however, controverted.¹⁵¹ Also the episcopal seat appears to have remained vacant

بصر وعاد واقام مكانه الاول ثلثين سنة يقتات الخبز واليسير مع
البقل وقصد الجربى يعنى بلد الشمال وتلمذ اهلها ونقلهم من عبادة
الا صنم بعد ان لقي منهم العذاب الكبير وبلايات اهادهم وردهم وبني
عدد بيع وكتب كتاباً في تدبير الرهينة ومات بحزة وسرق نابوته ليلا
ودفن في قريته وجعل ايوب تلميذه مغارته عمرا ويعرف الي الان بعمور
ايوب وكان ايوب هذا من اهل مدينة اردشير وكان له اب كثير المال
والتجور وله يمارستان * ولا اعتل ايوب هذا افكر في الدنيا فنذر تطبيقها
فعوفي فقصد ابراهيم ونسفر عنده وعرف طخوس الرهينة وقصد عمر
مار ابراهيم النقفرايى وترجم ميامر مار ابراهيم هذا وقوانين مار
ابراهيم الكشكرى من السريانى الى الفارسي واجتمع اليه رهبان بعد
موت رفاقته اشعيا واليشع الذين علماء طخوس الرهينة قديما وابرا
عدد مرضى قبل موته ولما كشف له من الله ان فاته قد دنت اشعر
الناس بالحضور عنده في الوقت من غير ان يعرفهم الحال وكان يوم
الاربعة اخر سابوع مار اليا في الا حد الذى قبل هذا اكل مع
الرهبان بعد الرازين وباركهم ومضى الى قلايته * ولما حضر الناس
يوم الاربعة وقفوا على باب كرخه ثلث ساعات وصعدوا الى القلاية
فوجدوه ملفوفا مطروحا قدام الصليب

¹⁵⁰ According to Firdousi, he was actually blinded, on the plea that he had attempted to take the life of his own son, Khosru Parviz :—

كه هرگز مبادا چنين تا جور	كه او دست يازد بخون پسر
بگفتار چو شوخ شد لشكرش	همانكه زدند آتش اندر درش
شدند اندر ايوان شاهنشهي	بنزديك آن شاه با فرهي
چوتاج از سر شاه برداشتند	ز تختش نكو نثار برگا شتند
نهادند پس داغ برچشم شاه	شد آن شمع رخشان هم انكه سياه

¹⁵¹ *Oriens Christianus*, tom. II., p. 1119.

for a few years after his demise. The notice given by A'mru of this prelate is as follows:—"Jesujab the Arzunit and Catholicus, a native of A'rbáya, was an excellent scholar, who had studied at Nisibis under Abraham the commentator, and was ordained bishop of Arzun. The king, Hormuzd, liked him and honoured him because he informed him by letters of the movements of the Roman army. When Ezechiel died and controversies arose on his and on Job the commentator's explanations, and the affair was referred to the king, he ordered Jesujab to be installed; he also summoned the fathers, who selected Jesujab as their chief, and presented themselves to the king, who treated the fathers honourably, and sent them back to their episcopal residences with distinction, ordering his officials to take their opinions in public affairs, whereby the Magi felt offended. Jesujab published canons and explained the sacraments. At that time Nisibis was the frontier between the countries of Rome and Persia; and during the period of Jesujab numbers of monks appeared each of whom built a convent and established a school."¹³³

Khosru Parviz was acclaimed king A.D. 590, and conquered next year the usurper Behrám VI., as well as other Persian rebels, by the aid of the emperor Maurice,¹³³ and presented the church of St.

¹³³ ايشوعيهب الارزني الجاثليق من اهل باعربايا و كان فاضلا و تعلم
بخصيبين على ابراهيم المفسر واسم استقا على ارزن و كان هرمزالملك
يعبه و يكرمه لانه كان يكتبه باخبار جيوش الروم • فلما مات حزقيل
و وقع التشاجر في معناه و معنى ايوب المفسر و انتهى الامر الى
الملك امر باجلاس ايشوعيهب و حضر الابا و عقدوا له الرئاسة
و دخلوا كلهم على الملك فكرمهم و رد الابا الى كراسيم بكرامة
و تقدم الي عماله باخذ رايهم في الامور و غلظ ذلك على المجوس •
و عمل قوازيما و فسر الرازيين • و كان الحديدين مملكتي الروم و الفرس
نصيبين و ظهر في ايامه جماعة من الرهبان و بنى كل منهم عمرا
و اقام اسكولا

¹³³ This aid, as well as a wife, was promised him by a monk prophetically when on his journey to Constantinople, which he, however, did not reach, in spite of Mirkhond's and Tabari's statements to the contrary:—

ز قيصر بياي سليح و سپاه يكي دختری از در تاج و گاه

On that occasion, however, Khosru Parviz sent envoys to Constantinople, and the aid asked for was obtained: one of them, however, had a religious contro-

Sergius the martyr, in Seleucia, with a golden cross. In the ensuing year he married Sira, i.e. Shirin, a Roman by birth and a Christian by religion; she was beautiful, and he publicly called her his queen, but having no offspring by her he three years afterwards prayed to St. Sergius that she might give birth to a son, which request being granted, the king sent gifts, to which he added also a letter to the holy martyr.¹³⁴ A'mru says that Parviz was young and of good behaviour;

versy with the emperor, in which he reproached Christians with being ambitious and shedding blood, in lieu of living up to the meekness inculcated by Christ. The words put by the author of the *Shahnamah* into the mouth of the envoy, which are in perfect conformity with the Gospel, at any rate show that Firdousi must have been well acquainted with at least some portions of that book; they are as follows:—

بدانکه که بکشاد راز نهفت	نبینی که عیسی مریم چه گفت
میاویز با او به تندى بسی	که پیراهنت گر سزاند کسی
شود تیره از زخم دیدار تو	وگر برزند کف برخسار تو
بخوانان تو چشم و مگو هیچ سرد	میاورتوخشم و مکن روی زرد
مجوی ار نباشدت کستردنی	بکمتورخورش بس کن از خوردنی
بی آزار ازین تیرگی بگذرید	ازین سر بدی را بید نشمرید
دل از آزار بسیار بیراه گشت	شمارا هوا برخرد شاه گشت
شتر میکشد کنجستان را کلید	که ایوانها نان بکیوان رسید
زره های عادی و رومی کلاه	ابا کنجها نیز چندی سپاه
از آسودگی تیغها برکشید	بهر جای بیداد لشکر کشید
مسیحا نبود اندرین رهنمون	همرچشمه گردد ییابان زخون

¹³⁴ It may be observed that the lady whom Khosru Parviz married has above been called a Roman and a Christian, but that A'mru calls her also the daughter of Maurice; Pagius, however, observes under the year 628, No. 5, that if she had been the daughter of Maurice [reigned from A.D. 582, Aug. 13, till A.D. 602, Nov. 27], writers such as Evagrius and Theophylactus would certainly have said so. Nevertheless Elmacinus, in the *History of the Saracens*, William of Tyre (bk. i., ch. 7), and Barhebræus all agree with A'mru that she was the daughter of Maurice, in whose Syriac life Barhebræus says, "Khosru asked Maurice to give him his daughter Maria in marriage, and Maurice having agreed the bishop took her away. Khosru built three very large churches, one dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, another to the Apostles, and the third to St. Sergius the martyr, which also George the patriarch of Antioch consecrated. In this manner the Christian religion spread all over the country of Persia." *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. 1., p. 412.

The marriage of Khosru Parviz with the daughter of the Roman emperor, whose name is mentioned neither by Firdousi nor by Mirkhond, but occurs simply as Kayçar of Rûm, took place, according to the last-mentioned author, in consequence of a personal visit of Khosru, who, having been defeated by Behrâm Chubin in Mesopotamia, is said to have fled to Rûm, where he arrived

Maurice, the Roman emperor, aided him against Behráh, the general

in safety by the friendly aid of an Arab, who gave him a camel and provisions for the journey. The Persian prince was received in the most amicable manner, and the nuptial knot having been tied between him and Mary the daughter of the Kayçar he left the capital of the empire, after a sojourn of eighteen months, taking away his bride, and marching with an army of nearly 100,000 men, which the Kayçar gave him, under the command of his own son, Nyátus. With these troops Khosru Parviz returned to Persia, defeated Behráh Chubin, established himself firmly on the throne, and sent his auxiliaries again back to Rúm.

Also, according to the *Shahnamah*, Khosru Parviz starts to Rúm, but never arrives there; he is aided by an Arab and also by others in his journey; goes to a Christian monk who tells him his fortune, and sojourns, with his retinue, at a frontier town, which was no other than Circesium, the fort of the Romans, whence he was conducted to the more honourable residence of Hierapolis. Gibbon says (ch. xlv. *Decline and Fall*) that when Maurice received the letters and ambassadors the grandson of Nushirvan had sent him, he prudently declined the expense and delay of his useless visit to Constantinople, but sent him a diadem with an inestimable gift of jewels and gold. A powerful army was assembled at the frontiers of Armenia and Syria, under the command of the valiant and faithful Narses; and this general of his own nation and his own choice was directed to pass the Tigris, and never to sheath his sword till he had restored Khosru to the throne of his ancestors. Sira or Shirin is alluded to by Gibbon very briefly as a devout Christian and the best beloved of the wives of Khosru, and not as the daughter of Maurice; this, however, Firdousi does, but calls her Mary, who was brought to him with the army alluded to above; her *trousseau* consisted of precious jewels, gold-embroidered clothes, carpets, brocade, in such quantities as to surpass all expectations; of necklaces, of earrings, and three royal diadems encrusted with precious stones. The princess was accompanied by numerous male and female slaves to wait on her; but the army in charge of her, and consisting of 100,000 men commanded by Nyátus, brought also a letter written on silk cloth from the Kayçar to Khosru, who received it in the just-mentioned frontier town. After cordially embracing Nyátus, Khosru approached the canopy of the princess, and on beholding his bride he drew aside the curtain and imprinted a kiss on her hand. Then he removed her to his private apartments, and marched, a few days after this event, with the army against his foe Behráh Chubin, whom he defeated.

Mary had soon an opportunity of showing her conciliatory disposition and good sense, which happened in the following manner:—After Khosru Parviz had gained the just-mentioned victory he sent information to his father-in-law, who in return despatched presents of congratulation, some of them being adorned with the Christian symbol of the cross, with which more especially the dresses were embroidered. After looking at the garments with crosses set in jewels, Khosru Parviz was embarrassed, because he knew that by abstaining from wearing them he might give offence to the Kayçar, and that if he did so people would say that he had become a Christian; but the Dastur who was his spiritual adviser set all doubts at rest by assuring his sovereign that religion does not consist in dress, that he was a Zoroastrian, but also a relative of the Kayçar. Accordingly Khosru Parviz wore a dress of this kind with a diadem on the occasion of a public reception. When the curtains were lifted up, Greeks and Persians of all classes walked into the hall; the intelligent among them who saw the garments knew that Khosru wished to please the Kayçar, whilst others affirmed that he had secretly become a Christian:—

of his father. He married a daughter of Maurice, whose name was Mary; it is also said that her name was Shirin. In his time a priest embraced Magism from love of the world; and the king, who was desirous to ascertain whether he had sincerely done so, requested him to celebrate the sacred liturgy as he had done before. Accordingly a house was set apart for the purpose, and the priest began to officiate; when, however, the moment for the descent of the Holy Ghost had arrived, the king saw the house full of light and of angels, which, when the priest departed, was deprived of all that light. Then the king con-

کسی کشتی خرد بود و آنچامه دید بدانت کو رای قیصر گزید
دگر گفت کاین شهر یار جهان همانا که ترسا شد اندر نهان

On another occasion the Persian monarch gave a banquet, and had tables arranged for that purpose, in a rose-garden. He had put on the royal diadem, and Nyátus with the philosophers sat around the table, when Khosru, dressed in the jewelled Grecian robes, came down from the throne, and walking with a smile to the table took his seat. Also Bandvy, one of his favourite magnates, with the Barsan (or little twig held by Mobeds when praying) in his hand, arrived and stood near his sovereign, who muttered the Baj which is as follows:—“Here, in this manner, I worship Ormuzd, by whom the cattle and purity have been created, and by whom the water has been created, and the good vegetation and the light have been created. This lord, in this place, I remember and glorify, and I praise him for this pleasant food which he has given me.” When Nyátus beheld this scene, he laid aside his bread, and was so amazed that he left the table, saying that the Baj and the cross together was an insult to the Messiah; being after this still more enraged by receiving a slap on the face from Bandvy, he immediately departed to his camp, got his troops ready to assault the royal banquet unless the person of Bandvy were delivered to him, and despatched a message to this effect to Khosru. Mary, as already observed above, showed great intelligence and presence of mind on this occasion, and promised her royal husband so to quell the enmity between Nyátus and Bandvy that not a drop of blood would be spilled, if he would only send the latter, under an escort of ten troopers, with her to the Greek army. She obtained Khosru’s permission, and in her interview with Nyátus made him understand that her husband was so much beloved by her father that he had not only presented him with much treasure, assisted him with troops, and made him his son-in-law, but also agreed that Khosru should not abandon his own religion; finally she threatened Nyátus with the Kaygar’s displeasure, and ordered him to embrace Bandvy. The persuasive words of the queen were so convincing that Nyátus not only obeyed her, but also accompanied her to the presence of Khosru Parviz, to whom he apologized for his rashness, and peace having been made between the two antagonists all parties were satisfied. After a while Khosru sent Nyátus and his army back to Rûm with presents and compliments.

After Khosru had reigned five years he became very powerful, and in the sixth, namely A.D. 590, queen Mary bore him a son, to whom he gave two names,—the one, Kobâd, he whispered in his ear, and the other, Shiruyeh, he pronounced openly.

بگوش اندرون نام گفشد قباد دمی خواند شیروی نوح نژاد

The astrologers predicted that during the life of this royal scion much turmoil would arise on earth, that his troops would not like him, and that he

sulted Jesujab in this affair, and the latter left it to his option. Accordingly he crucified the priest, but honoured the Christians more. No'mán Ben Mundir, king of the Arabs [of Hirah, but a vassal of Persia], was strongly attached to paganism and worshipped U'zza, which is the planet Venus. [This is a mistake.] When he had been struck by Satan, and the soothsayers could not help him, he was cured by Simeon the bishop of Hirah, Sabarjesu bishop of Lashum, and Jesuzaha the monk : accordingly he became a Christian and was baptized with his two sons, Mundir and Hasan, after him ; the last-mentioned, being more zealous as a Christian, never prohibited destitute persons from having access to him when he entered the church. The king of Persia also sent the Catholicus Jesujab to Maurice, the emperor of Rome, with gifts, letters, and various things he had asked for ; all the presents were received, and Jesujab met with very honourable treatment. On that occasion the emperor Maurice said, " Since the time of the synod held at Chalcedon correspondence has been interrupted between us, and we do not know whether you still agree with our tenets, or whether you have changed ; therefore I desire you to write down your profession of faith, that I may read it, and see what it is." Accordingly he wrote down the exposition of the faith of the Orientals, which the emperor perused and approved of, as well as the patriarch, who was present with him. Accordingly Jesujab was asked to celebrate the liturgy in their church, that they might partake in the communion with him, whilst he in his turn should receive the sacrament consecrated by their patriarch. He did so, but said, " We only reprove one thing in you, namely, that you have excommunicated a man whom it was illicit to anathematize, whereby you have deflected to the wrong side and to a weak faith." Hereupon the emperor said, " If Nestorius adhered to the profession of faith which you have written down, he is not excommunicated, but he is so if he adhered to a different one, and is unworthy to be remembered ; you belong to us, and we belong to you." Then Jesujab departed, and died fifteen years afterwards ; he was buried at Hirah, in the convent of Hinda, the sister of No'mán.¹³⁸

would apostatize from his religion. He, however, succeeded his father A.D. 628, but his whole reign amounted only to eight or nine months.

وَنَقْلَدَ مَلِكَ الْفَرَسِ كَسْرِي اَبْرُويزَ بْنِ هَرْمَزَ عِنْدَ خَلْعِ النَّاسِ
لِهَرْمَزِ ابْنِهِ • وَكَانَ حَدَثَ السِّنِّ جَمِيلَ الطَّرِيقَةِ وَعَاوَنَهُ مَوْرِيقِي مَلِكَ الْاَرُمِ
عَلِي بِهَرَامَ صَاحِبَ جَيْشِ ابْنِهِ وَتَزَوَّجَ بَابَنَةَ مَوْرِيقِي وَاسْمَهَا مَرْيَمَ وَيُقَالُ

Sabarjesus I., who had been raised to the bishopric of Arzuna by his predecessor Jesujab, as has already been observed above, was elected Catholicus by order of Khosru Parviz, who, when the bishops had presented to him the names of five candidates without Sabarjesus being among them, inquired for the reason, and was informed by them that the bishop of Arzuna was sick. The king nevertheless insisted on his election, and stated that he had in a vision been ordered to appoint

إنها كانت تسمي أيضا شيرين. وفي أيامه تمجس قس لمحبة الدنيا واحب الملك ان يعلم هل ذلك منه عن نية والتمس منه ان يقدر كما كان يفعل. فافرد بيتا وقام ليقدر فلما بلغ وقت نزول روح القدس راي كسري البيت مملوا نورا وملايكة. ولما خرج القس تعري من جميع ذلك النور فانقد كسري الي مارايشوعيهب الجاثليق يشاوره في بابه. فقال الامر اليك فصلبه. و زاد في اكرام النصاري. والنعمان وابن المذخر ملك العرب كان شديد التمسك بدين الحنفا يعبد اعزي وهو كوكب الزهرة. فلحقته ضربة من الشيطان ولم ينفعه كهنته شي. فشفاه شمعون اسقف الحيرة وسبر يشوع اسقف لاشوم وايشوع زحاه الراهب فتنصر واعتد ولدا المذخر والحسن بعده. وكان الحسن اسدهم تمسا بالصرانية وكان لا يمنع تقدم المساكين اليه اذا دخل البيعة. وانقذه ملك الفرس الي موريقي ملك الروم بهدايا ورسايل و اشيا التمسها فقبلت منه الهدايا واكرم ايشوعيهب وعظمت مرتبته. وقال له الملك ان من المجمع الذي كان بقلبيد ونيه انقطعت بيننا الكتب وبينكم ولنا ندرى مقالكم ثابتة كما لم نزل او غيرتم منه شيا فاريد ان تكتب الي مقالكم لا قراها وانظر كيف هي. فكتب له المقالة المشرقية فلما قراها استصوبها هو والفطرك الذي كان بحضرته و ساله ان يقدر القربان في بيعتهم ليتقربوا منه ويتقرب هو من القربان الذي يقدره فطركهم. فععل ذلك وقال انها ننكر عليكم انكم حرمتهم رجلا لا يجب تحريره فانقلبتم الي الخلاف والي الامانة الضعيفة فقال له الملك ان كان نسطور يوس يقول بهذا المقالة التي كتبتها فليس هو محروم وان كان يقول بغيرها فهو محروم ولا معني لذكره. انتم لنا ونحن لكم وانصرف على هذا. توفي بعد خمسة عشرين سنة ودفن بالحيرة في دير هذ اخذ النعمان

him; he also kept him for some time near his person, whilst Milas the bishop of Else administered the diocese as his vicar. When the emperor Maurice heard of the fame of the Catholicus he sent a painter to take his portrait, which being done with the permission of Khosru, Maurice despatched to the latter in return a little piece of the true cross on which Christ had been crucified.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ During the reign of Khosru Parviz the Persians took Jerusalem with dreadful slaughter (A.D. 614) from the emperor Phocas, when they carried off also the true cross. According to Mirkbond this happened after the Greeks had slain the Kaygar together with his son Nyátus. We nevertheless find in the *Shahnamah* this same Kaygar asking for the restoration of the cross; but Khosru, to whom a special embassy with rich presents had been sent for that purpose, refuses to comply, and sends a message that it is not worth while making much ado about the cross of Jesus, which had been placed by king Ardashir in the treasury; that everybody would laugh at his sending a piece of wood from Erán to Róm; that the Mobeds would say he had become a Christian and a bishop for the sake of Mary; but that the emperor might ask for anything else he liked:—

همان دار عیسی نیرزید رنج	که شاه ارد شیر آن نهاد بکنج
از ایران چو چوبی فرستم بروم	بخندند بر ما همه مرزو بوم
ز مرید کمان بد که ترسا شدم	گر از بهر مریم مکتوبا شدم
دگر ارزو هر چه باید نخواه	شمارا سوي ماکشاد است راه

As the queen, and daughter of Maurice, is in those verses called Mary, it would appear that Khosru had at that time nor yet transferred his affection to Shirin, who became afterwards his favourite wife, and was also a Christian. The cross is afterwards again alluded to twice; the first time by Shiruyeh in his reproachful address to his own father Khosru after dethroning him. He blames him for not restoring the cross to Maurice, although he had aided him with troops, treasures, and the gift of his own daughter for a wife:—

سپه داد و دختر ترا داد نیز	همان کنج و باکنج بسیار چیز
همیخواست دار مسیحا بروم	بدان ناشود تازه آن مرزو بوم
بکنج تو از دار عیسی چه سود	که قیصر بخوبی ز تو شاد بود

The cross is mentioned the second time as an old piece of wood, from which Khosru says, in his reply to the above-mentioned address, that he had no gain nor loss, but which had been thrown into the treasury, and which Shiruyeh must have heard mentioned by Christians:—

ز دار مسیحا که گفتی سخن	بکنج اندر افکنده چوبی کهن
نبد ز آن مرا هیچ سود و زیان	ز ترسا شنیدی تو آواز آن

Contrary to Firdousi, Mirkbond makes no mention whatever of Mary the Christian queen of Khosru Parviz, although something is said about Shirin, who is considered to have been the early love of this prince:—He got acquainted with her in the mansion of a Persian noble, who, on becoming aware of the intrigue, sent her to be drowned in the Euphrates, but her guard who had been ordered to execute the foul deed, being moved by her beauty and prayers,

When Khosru marched (A.D. 603) against Phocas to avenge the

replied that he was bound to obey orders, but that he would throw her into the water at a spot where she could easily get out. Accordingly the life of the girl was saved, and she took refuge with a holy monk in the desert, whom she faithfully served for several years, until Khosru, who had now become powerful, had on a hunting expedition come into the vicinity of the hermitage, where Shirin gave a ring to one of the king's retinue, and requested him to inform Khosru Parviz that his faithful maiden had sent it. The monarch, in whose bosom the flame of early affection was still burning, was glad to recover the lady and married her.

Also according to the *Shahnamah* Khosru had fallen early in love with Shirin, but, being constantly in trouble and at war with Behrám Chubin, he had soon lost sight of her. Some years afterwards, however, after his union with Mary and after the birth of Shirnyeh, when he was in the chase she contrived to meet him and to remind him of their former acquaintance. The lady was most bewitchingly attired, and addressed him in so loving a manner that he had her immediately sent to his private apartments. This act so shocked the nobles of Madyan that they abstained from paying their respects at the court. Some time afterwards, however, a Mobed arrived and made a long speech, which must have been very distasteful to Khosru Parviz, who accordingly vouchsafed no reply to it. The next day after this visit, a number of nobles and Mobeds made their appearance after holding a long consultation on the subject, waited on the king, and deposited a platter full of blood before him. Khosru, amazed at this sight, asked what the contents of the vessel were intended for. A Mobed, however, only replied, "This is impure blood, wherewith every one is disgusted." Hereupon the king had the platter removed, emptied, cleansed, and perfumed with musk and rose-water. When it was brought back it shone brightly like the sun, and was filled with wine. Then the king said to the Mobed, "Behold how the vessel is changed now!" The latter answered, "Good has resulted from evil," and the monarch continued, "Shirin was in the town, like this ill-omened vessel, full of venom. Being, however, now in my keeping, she has been perfumed by contact with me, just as she had at first obtained a bad name through me." These words were warmly applauded by all the magnates present, who expressed their satisfaction, and departed with congratulations, rejoicing in the power of their king.

Although the power of Shirin was now firmly established, she aspired to the highest place in the estimation of Khosru Parviz, and being extremely jealous of Mary, in whose apartments he spent the greater portion of his time, as well as of her supremacy as first lady of the royal household, she secretly poisoned her. The evil machinations of Shirin very likely influenced Khosru also with reference to his son Shirnyeh, who, although he had attained man's estate, was not only kept under perpetual surveillance like a child, but was closely confined in the palace; he was, however, allowed all kinds of amusements,—probably because Shirin, who had now taken the place of Mary as chief queen, feared that if the son of her late rival were allowed full liberty, he might overthrow her power. Many romances exist in which the loves of Shirin and Khosru are sung; all, however, are legendary, and contradict each other in many points. Sir W. Jones believed this lady, whom he renamed "Irene," to have actually been the daughter of Maurice, whilst the author of the *Nasekh-al-towarikh* states that the name of this daughter of the Byzantine emperor, and queen of Khosru Parviz, was Mary, although there Shirin is a Rúmi, i.e. Byzantine, and the account given of her in the work is wholly the same with the one here adopted.

murder of his father-in-law Maurice,¹³⁷ he was accompanied by Sabarjesus, who died during the expedition.¹³⁸ In that war Khosru Parviz not only reconquered the provinces he had ceded to the Greeks, but took Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, marched as far as Constantinople, and ravaged portions of the eastern empire for twenty years, until he was vanquished by Heraclius, the successor of Phocas. When Khosru Parviz was defeated A.D. 624 he became so incensed that he ordered the gifts and furniture of all the Persian churches to be confiscated, and compelled all the Christians to embrace Nestorianism. The conquests of Khosru Parviz were so rapid that he threatened to take Constantinople, within a mile of which, namely at Chalcedon, the Persians established themselves A.D. 617, after having within the space of fifteen years wrested from the Romans (*i.e.* Byzantines) all their possessions in Asia and Eastern Africa. The empire of Persia was extended from the Tigris and Euphrates to the Ægean and the Nile,

The bodily and mental charms of Shirin must have been extraordinary, perhaps like those of the celebrated Niwon de l'Enclos; because if we are to believe Firdousi, Shiruyeh had, after consenting to deprive his own father of life at the instigation of his advisers, being deeply insulted and called a vile parricide by Shirin, nevertheless insisted on marrying her; she must also have been tolerably advanced in years, as she boasted that she had for a long time been "the lady" of Erân, and had aided valiant men in every affair:—

بی سال بانوی ایران بدم بهر کار پشت دلیران بدم

She also states that she had married Khosru when he came back in distress from his Roman journey; and her assertion that a fraud unheard of in the world had been perpetrated may perhaps be an allusion to Khosru's marriage with Mary for political reasons. She nevertheless boasts of having had four children by him,—Nestor, Sheheryâr, Ferud, and Merdânsâh—all of whom were however, dead. When she threw off her veil after the above-mentioned insulting speech to Shiruyeh, not only were the nobles surprised, but he himself was so dazzled by her wonderful beauty, that he told her his life belonged already to her, and that he would grant her everything else she might desire:—

بدو گفت شیروی جانم تراست دگر آرزو بهر چه خواهی تراست

He was, however, not allowed to enjoy even life; because soon after Shirin had taken poison and expired he was likewise poisoned. According to A'mru, however, as will be shown further on, Shirin survived him, but poisoned his successor, Ardeshir III.

¹³⁷ *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. II., p. 415.

¹³⁸ Among the large number of miracles which the credulity of A'mru ascribes to Sabarjesus, the following is one, from which it appears that others besides Hindus drank water in which Gurus wash themselves:—"A Magian woman asked him [*i.e.* Sabarjesus] to pray to God to grant her a child. Accordingly he washed his hands, and she drank it [the water]. She gave birth to male twins; whereon she and her family believed [embraced Christianity]."

attaining once more almost the same dimensions that it had reached under the first, and had kept until the third Darius.^{135a}

Gregorius, a native of Cascara, had been elected Catholicus, after the demise of Sabarjesus I., by general consent, A.D. 605, although Bar-Halbesaha had been designated as his successor by Sabarjesus, whilst others desired Gregorius of Nisibis to become the metropolitan; the will, however, of Shirin the queen of Khosru prevailed, and the first-named Gregorius, whose election she favoured, obtained all the suffrages; when, however, he arrived to pay homage to the king, the latter told him that he was the wrong man. Those who accompanied the Catholicus pleaded the command of the queen, which, they alleged, could not have been issued without the consent of the sovereign, the more so as the said Gregorius appeared also to be the abler man of the two, so that Khosru Parviz was obliged to consent to the appointment, but afterwards became acquainted with the true character of the new Catholicus, to the badness of which even A'mru bears witness when he says:—"The king liked him and was pleased with his fine conversation; on inquiry he found, however, that his internal did not correspond to his external character. Accordingly he blamed Shirin for what she had done. The Catholicus was bent on accumulating money, and the joy of the Christians concerning him was changed to grief. The physicians also conveyed blame [to the king] concerning him. After the taking of Dúrá the king had obtained many books from it, which he compelled him to buy for twenty staters of silver, and which were paid by his collecting the same among the churches. This Catholicus died and was buried at Al-Madayn; the king confiscated whatever he left, captured his disciples, and imprisoned them until they disgorged his wealth. After that, the king's disposition towards Christians changed, and in lieu of doing good to them he persecuted them, increased the taxes, and commanded that the Christians should henceforth elect no Catholicus as their head."^{135b}

^{135a} G. Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 506.

^{135b} فتر به كسرى و اعجبه حسن صوته و اما بحث عنه وجد باطنه
بخالف ظاهره فوبخ شيرين على فعلها و الجائليق مال الى جمع الدراهم
و انتقل فرح النصارى به الى الحزن و واصل الطب الطعن عليه و كان
كسرى اخذ من دارا كتباً كثيرة فطرحها عليه و طالبه عنها بعشرين استار

Nothing is on record about Gregorius of Cascara personally except his desire of accumulating money, alluded to in the preceding passage of A'mru, but his clergy brought disgrace upon him by their wicked lives,¹³⁹ and he assembled a council to check their irregularities, although the proceedings commenced by a solemn vindication of the character of Barsumas, who had always been obnoxious to the so-called orthodox party. The words of the Synodicum¹⁴⁰ are as follows:—"The synod of Gregorius the Catholicus confirmed by its authority the correctness of the Great Confession of Faith, as well as the correctness of its explanation by the great commentator. It ordered Barsumas, the metropolitan of Nisibis, to be duly commemorated, exculpated him and his writings from the aspersions of antagonists, and anathematized all who should refuse to do the same. In this synod the restraining was decreed of priests who belong to no known church or monastery, obey no superiors and do not dwell in schools, but live singly and roam about houses; as well as of sisters who have no husbands, but roam about houses and corrupt morals, and of lazy monks who rent buildings in the midst of villages by the side of cities and convents, and corrupt men. Accordingly the synod decreed that priests and deacons belonging to no known church, and every woman having no husband nor living in a convent, or a brother with whom sisters are wandering about, or sisters wandering about with brothers, or a monk inhabiting a solitary house in a village or by the side of the city, are all excommunicated; moreover, that a bishop taking no notice of such persons be reproved by all. It being reported to the synod that certain monks living in convents omitted, on account of their perverse opinions, certain portions of their life-inspiring prayers, they were excommunicated. It being also reported to the synod that certain persons having built churches and convents, set aside for their maintenance a portion of their property, and entrusted by their last wills some relatives with the

فضه وجمع ذلك من الایع ومات الجائلیق ودفن بالمداین واخذ
كسرى ما خلفه وقبض على تلاميذه وحبسهم الى ان اظهروا ماله وتقير
رايه في النصراني وعدل عن الاحسان اليهم واخذ في الاساءة الى
الناس واضعاف الخراج واعر الا يروس النصراني عليهم جائليقا

¹³⁹ Passim monachi cum mulieribus cohabitabant, quas et legitimas suas uxores appellare haud verebantur: *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. 1., p. 93.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 452.

administration thereof, but that these had swallowed it after their demise, the synod decreed such writings to be kept by the bishop, and the revenues and expenses of such property to be regulated by him."¹⁴¹

As has been observed above, the Christians were ordered to elect no Catholicus after the demise of Gregorius; accordingly his seat remained vacant till the death of Khosru, and the Church was governed by Mar-Aba the archdeacon till the accession of Shiruyeh, who is by some also called Kobád II., and began to reign on the 24th February A.D. 628, during which year also a treaty of peace was concluded with the Romans on the condition that Shiruyeh was to restore all the places his father had taken from them; wherefore Heraclius sent his own brother Theodore in company of the Persian delegates, who were peaceably to take back all the Persian subjects dwelling in Edessa, Jerusalem, and in the other Roman cities of Palestine to their own country. It is remarkable that among the just-mentioned Persian delegates also Jesujab II. of Gadala, who had (A.D. 626) been—probably

¹⁴¹ منهدوس غريغور الجاثليق عقدت رايها على صحة الامة الكبيرة وعلى صحة تفسير المفسر الكبير واجرت ذكر برصوما مطران نصيبين وزكته وكتبه لاجل ما كان فيه للمخالفون وحرمت من لا يفعل ذلك * وقرر في هذه السنهدوس ضمان الكهنة الذين ليس لهم بيعة ودير معروف ولا يطاعون للمدبرين ولا يكونون في الاسكول لكن يسكنون مفردين ويطوفون البيوت * واخوات لارجل لهم يطوفون البيوت ويفسدون * وقوم من كسالى الرهبان يتبعون اكراحا في اوساط القرى وعلى جوانب المدن والديارات ويفسدون الناس * فاجتمعت السنهدوس ان القس والشماس الذي ليس له بيعة معروفة وكل امرأة لارجل لها ولا تكون في الدير او اخ يطوف معه اخوات او اخوات يطفن مع اخوة اوراهب يجلس في كرح واحد في القرية او على جانب المدينة كلهم محرمون * والا سقف الذي يغفل عنهم يوتجه الكل * وقيل في الجمع ان قوماً من سكان الديارات لفساد رايهم يسقطون من الصلوات المحيية * وهولا محرمون * وقيل في الجمع ان قوماً بنوا بيعة وديارات وافرد لها شتيا ووصوا اقاربهم بالامراة لها فاكلوها من بعد هم * قطع الجمع بان كتب هذه تكون عند الاسقف وتديره يتم دخلها وخرجها

in secret—ordained the successor of Gregorius of Cascara, is mentioned as afterwards presenting himself with his companions, the bishops of Nisibis, of Beth Seleucia, of Garmæa, and of Nineveh, at the court of Constantinople, and abjuring Nestorianism, but again making profession of it on his return to Persia. When Theodore returned from Edessa, where he had restored a church occupied during the time of Khosru Parviz by the Nestorians to the orthodox party, and arrived in Hierapolis, he obtained the information that Shiruyeh had not lived to reign even for one year, but had died in November 628. Concerning Jesujab II., and his above-mentioned recantation of Nestorianism, Barhebræus says :—" This Catholicus did his best to promote the advancement of learning, and to restore the destroyed schools. He also ordained pious bishops, and was a legate from the king of Persia to the Roman emperor ; but on being interrogated about the faith, he pretended to follow the religion of the Greeks and was accepted. When the people subject to him heard this, they were offended, and on account of his change of faith expunged his name from the canon, but again received him and proclaimed his name when he afterwards apologized and stated that he had by no means agreed with the Greeks, but had, on account of the aid afforded him by the emperor, been unable to contradict him."

About this time Muḥammad began to propagate Islām with all his might, and is by Barhebræus stated to have received a visit from the patriarch Jesujab in company with Sa'yḍ, the chief of the Christians of Najrán, who brought him enormous gifts, with the intention of establishing a treaty between the Christians and the Arabs. Muḥammad agreed and gave them a diploma, in which he recommended to the Arabs to protect Christians, and neither to attack them nor to force them to change their religion. He altogether prohibited the raising of tribute from priests and monks, and allowed only four coins to be taken from the poor, but twelve from the rich. He moreover gave permission to Christians to repair their churches, and desired the Arabs to aid them in the work. Lastly, Christian men and women might serve in Arab houses without any detriment to their religion.^{111a} A'mru does not allude to an actual

^{111a} This document, in which Muḥammad grants security to the Christians, was first published by Gabriel Sionita in Paris, in 1630, in Arabic and Latin ; by Joannes Fabricius, in 1638, in Latin only ; and lastly by Hinkelmann, in 1890, in Hamburg. The first copy of this diploma was brought to Europe by Pacificus Scaliger, who had obtained it from Arab Capuchin monks. Grotius believed the document to be spurious, and Salmasius genuine. Mosheim alludes to it

visit by the patriarch, but agrees in other respects well enough with Barhebræus :—"Then Islâm made its appearance, and this patriarch [Jesujab] wrote letters to the lord of the law of Islâm, sent him presents, and asked him to protect his flock dwelling there, and he agreed thereto. Then Jesujab wrote numerous excellent letters to his companions, and the lord of the law presented him with gifts, among which there were a number of camels and A'den garments. This was brought to the notice of the king of Persia, who manifested his displeasure at the patriarch's doings and correspondence, but especially when the presents arrived. Accordingly Jesujab excused himself till he was delivered from his anger, and lived till the time of O'mar Ben Al-khetâb, who wrote him a powerful letter of protection, promising that no tax should be taken from his brother's servants and partizans likewise ; and the letter is preserved to this day."¹⁴²

Ardashir III. succeeded his father Shiruyeh, but reigned only about one year, till the end of A.D. 629, and A'mru says concerning him, "In his [Jesujab's] days Ardashir assumed the government after his father Shiruyeh, and it is said that Shirin brought on his death by poison, because he had slain her son Merdânschâh."¹⁴³

It has been observed above how Jesujab II. thought proper to treat with Muḥammad to save the Christians from persecution ; and,

in his *Ecclesiastical History*, gives no opinion of his own, but states that Renaudot believed it to be genuine. He appears to have taken the whole account of it except the last-mentioned remark from Assemani, tom. III., pt. II., p. xcvi. ; although if not himself, at least his English translator, omits to mention Assemani as his source.

١٤٢ ثم ظهر الاسلام فكان هذا الفطرك يكتب صاحب شريعة الاسلام ويهدي له ويساله الوصاء برعيته في نواحيه فاجابه الى ذلك وكتب لا صحابه كتاباً بليغة مؤكدة وبرو صاحب الشريعة ببر كان فيه عدد من الابل وثياب عذنيه . نادى ذلك الى ملك الفرس فانكر علي الفطرك فعله ومكاتبته وخاصة عند ورود هداياه . فداراه الى ان سلم منه وعاش الى ايام عمر بن الخطاب فكتب له كتاباً مؤكداً بالحفظ والحيطة وان لا تؤخذ اخوانه وخدمه الجزية واشياعه ايضا . وهذا الكتاب محفوظ الى هذه الغاية

١٤٣ وفي ايامه تقلد اردشير مكان ابيه شيرويه ويقال ان شيرين احوالت في قتله بالسم لقتله ابنها مردانشاه

as the power of the Moslems grew very rapidly, the Christian prelates naturally sought to propitiate the Arab chiefs, especially after they had invaded Persia; and a curious instance of how peace was granted to the people of Hirah by the Arab general Khâled, through the intervention of the monks, is on record.¹⁴⁴ The calamities which overwhelmed Persia at this time induced a corresponding confusion about the Christian prelates, concerning whom contemporary authors speak very briefly and also disagree;¹⁴⁵ as, owing to the quick succession after Ardeshir III. of Sarbaraz, i.e. Sheheryâr, of Purândukht, of Chahinendâh, of Arzemedukht, of Kesra II., of Ferakhzad, and of Yazdegird IV., within the brief period of a couple of years, the sovereigns had probably no chance to interfere much with the Christian Church either for good or for evil, and the election of the Catholicus of Persia, usually confirmed and sometimes even ordered by the king, was dispensed with. Yazdegird IV., although he lived twenty years after ascending the throne, had during the greater portion of that time no fixed residence; and, as he gradually moved to the interior, his connection with the Arab Christians tributary to Persia, the warlike tribes

¹⁴⁴ See my "Moslem Conquest of Persia," *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. XI., pp. 155 *et seq.*

¹⁴⁵ As an example of these discrepancies it may here be observed that A'mru (*Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pars I., p. 105) not only causes Purândakht immediately to succeed Ardashir, but states that the above-mentioned Jesujab II. had been sent by her to the Roman emperor, who not only received him kindly, but had the sacrament of the Eucharist administered by this Catholicus to himself and to his patricians in Aleppo, which may be true on the supposition that this was another mission of the prelate, who is said to have lived down to the khalifate of O'mar. It may be observed that a statement, likewise of A'mru, has been given above, according to which the namesake of this patriarch, namely Jesujab I., was during the reign of Khosru I'arviz sent to Maurice, and there likewise administered, as well as received, the Sacrament. It is, however, worth while to give A'mru's own words in this case also:—

ثم قتل اردشير و جلست بوران بنت كسري في الامر لانه لم يبق
من نسل الملوك غيرها • و ستر الناس بها و ضربت الدنانير و انقذت
ابشوعيهب الجاثليق برسالتها الي ملك الروم و صادفه بحلب و ادنى
الرسالة و قبلت الهداية • كثر تعجب ملك الروم من نكاد امرأة و فرح
بالجاثليق و ستر بعلمه و ما اوضحه من الامانة و شفقه فيما قصد من
قضا حوائجه و سال ان يتقدس القربان لينتقرب من يده • ففعل و سلم
اليه نسخة الامانة و تقرب و جماعة بطارقه من يده •

Beni Bekr and I'jl, who were loyal and desirous to aid his troops,¹⁴⁶ was not only severed quickly, but the Moslem conquerors also soon converted the majority of them to their own religion.

As the capital, Madayn (*i. e.* Ctesiphon and Seleucia), had already fallen into the hands of the Moslems in the month of Çafar A.H. 16 (March 637), the prelates of the Church, being apprehensive of danger, removed the seat of the Catholicus to Takrit (Martyropolis), and the first who dwelt there was Maruthas, the successor of Jesujab II., but he surrendered the fort and town to the invaders as soon as they presented themselves at the gates, because he feared that the people might be injured. From that time, says Assemani,¹⁴⁷ the number of Jacobites increased wonderfully in Persia; also many Edessans who had been brought captives to that province fixed their domicile in Sejestán and Khorásán. Maruthas appointed two bishops to govern the churches, and died A.D. 649. Contemporaneously with the just-noticed prelate, also Mareme is said to have been the immediate successor of Jesujab II. He was first bishop of Nineveh, then metropolitan of Gardishápúr, and was lastly promoted to the dignity of Catholicus, which he enjoyed for three years, and he is said to have died during the khalifate of O'thmán. The next Maphrianus, *i. e.* Catholicus, was Jesujab III., who ingratiated himself with the Muhammadans, and received from them letters patent with seals affixed, whereby all the monasteries and churches subject to him were guaranteed from injury. He made a journey into the interior of Persia in order to call the metropolitan of that country to order. About Denha nothing worth mentioning is on record; and Georgius, who succeeded him, is said to have been ordained patriarch A.D. 661. When he visited his diocese, and travelled to the Christian towns, villages, and convents, it was reported to the Amir of the Arabs, whose name is not given, that he had during that journey collected an immense sum of gold, but he preferred to suffer imprisonment and torture rather than to surrender the sacred money to the Amir; wherefore, says Barhebræus, the Amir became so indignant that he razed several churches to the ground.

With the increase of the Muhammadan power the number of Christians diminished very rapidly everywhere in Persia and its dependencies, such as Hirah, Najrán, and Yemen in Arabia. Whenever Christians refused to embrace Islám they were burdened with the capitation tax ;

¹⁴⁶ See "Moslem Conquest of Persia," p. 153.

¹⁴⁷ *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. II., p. 420.

but Yazid, although he reigned only about four years (A.D. 720, Feb. 9, till A.D. 724, Jan. 25), appears to have been the first Khalif who systematically vexed Christians by establishing that in law the testimony of a Christian against a Muhammadan should not be considered valid, by ordering not only images, but also animals, such as dogs, pigeons, cocks, &c., to be destroyed if they were of white colour, and by various other harassing ordinances.¹⁴⁶

The above-mentioned Jesujab III. was so shocked at the diminution of Christians in Khorásán, who, to escape the loss of some of their property, had embraced Islám, that he wrote a long letter to Simeon, the metropolitan of Ravarshir, on the subject. Its beginning is as follows :—
 “Where are thy sons, O father bereaved of sons? Where is the great multitude of Mervites [people of Merv, in Khorásán] which have, without being afflicted by the sword, or by fire, or by tortures, but captivated only by its love for worldly goods, rushed as mad into the abyss of perfidy, namely to eternal perdition; being reduced almost to nothing, as only two priests have, like brands snatched from the flames, escaped from the fire of impiety? Alas! out of so many thousands who were called Christians, not one has by shedding his blood consecrated himself to God for the sake of the true faith. Where are the sanctuaries of Kermán, and of the whole of Persia?.....
 You Persians, who excel other men in virtue and intellect, appear to us to be so placed as not to stand in need of the aid of the Church of God, or of the aid of God himself; but in this destruction of your churches you have been so humble, so meek, so gentle, that you have moved neither your hands, nor exerted the powers of your bodies, against the destroyers of your temples, nor shown the strength of your faith against its persecutors. Nor have you, like men who trust in the Church of God and in the prayers of the saints, turned to that Church, in order to inform it of your calamity, and to implore the aid of prayers from the saints of our God. You might clearly understand that the cause of the weakness of your faith in this season of your temptation flows from the very fountain of Christianity itself. The fountain, namely, of Christianity is sacerdotal virtue; but sacerdotal virtue is induced by the canonical and legitimate imposition of hands. If, namely, the imposition of hands takes place illegitimately, sacerdotal virtue will therewith by no means flow by transmission from above downwards, as it has been derived from above

¹⁴⁶ “Chronicle of the patriarch Dionysius,” *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. II., p. 105.

upon the Apostles, and from them upon their successors down to the end of the world For the very same man who has seduced you and overthrown your churches first made his appearance among us in the district of Radan, where the number of pagans exceeds that of Christians; nevertheless, on account of the glorious works of the followers of Christ, not even the pagans have been seduced by him; and being repelled with disgrace he has not only been unable to ruin churches, but has been ruined himself; he was, however, received in your own country of Persia by the pagans, as well as by the Christians of it, who obeyed his behests with the consent of the pagans, the Christians remaining silent, and not attempting anything against him. These Tayyis [*i.e.* Arabs], on whom God has at this season bestowed dominion over the earth, are, as you must be aware, at present among us; they, however, do not attack the Christian religion, but rather commend our faith, honour the priests and saints of the Lord, and grant benefits to churches and convents. Why, then, have you Mervites abandoned the faith for their sake? The more so since the Tayyis, as the Mervites themselves state, have not compelled them to desert their faith, but, in order to keep it safe and intact, to surrender only one-half of their property. They, however, abandoning the faith which profiteth for ever, have, captivated by love for this perishable world, retained their property."¹⁴⁹

As to the Arab populations of Gh'assân, Yemen, and Hirah, which were under Persian vassalage for some centuries, the seeds of Christianity had been sown in them at a very early period. Already the apostle Paul had visited Arabia for the purpose of preaching the Gospel.¹⁵⁰ And several others are said to have gone there, but the precise localities where they carried on their labours are not mentioned, although it is certain that the earliest bishopric was that of Boçra, and the next of Petra, which was at first subject to the former. Not only did bishops from Arabia attend the Antiochian and Nicæan council, but they held several in their own country, the first of which assembled A.D. 229, and the second A.D. 247. The signature of an Arab bishop occurs in the documents of the council of Ephesus, A.D. 449, and of Chalcedon, A.D. 451.¹⁵¹ The parts of Arabia contiguous to Mesopotamia, Chaldæa, and the Persian Gulf

¹⁴⁹ *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. I., pp. 133 *et seq.*

¹⁵⁰ Galatians i. 17.

¹⁵¹ *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. II., pp. dxcvii. *et seq.*

had already before A.D. 320 been converted to Christianity, partly by the efforts of the bishops of Edessa and Seleucia, and partly by the labours of the monks who preached in those regions.

Not much can be said about the Ġh'assánians, but the author of the *Násekh-al-Towárikh* asserts that already their king Salykh, a contemporary of Tiberius, was a Christian. Afterwards, when the Sasanian dynasty began to reign in Persia, they alternately cultivated the friendship of the Romans, and transferred their allegiance to the Persians, which was not difficult, as their nomadic habits enabled them to avoid close contact with their foes when they were at a disadvantage. This fickleness was particularly shown by Jabalah, who abandoned the Romans and sided with Shápúr II. when he perceived that fidelity to the Persian sovereign would be more advantageous; his successor, No'mán Ben Ayham, acted in the same manner, as well as at a later period No'mán B. Hāreth, a contemporary and tributary of Yazdegird III. Shorāḥyl was the last Ġh'assánian king, and tributary to Khosru Parviz.

Also in southern Arabia, *i.e.* Yemen, Christianity was introduced very early by the apostle Bartholomew, especially among the civilized, settled, and mercantile population, to which also Pantæus, who had come from Alexandria, preached the Gospel for some time, towards the end of the second century. The monk Theophilus, who had been sent to the Hemyarite Christians of Yemen by Constantius, A.D. 354 or 356, partly for the purpose of attaching them to the interests of the Roman emperor, and to build churches for the Roman merchants trading in those parts, as well as for the people who might be converted to Christianity, was an Arian heretic, and chiefly laboured to draw the Christians over to his own sect; he built, however, several churches, and Christianity flourished so much that it attracted the violent enmity of Du Nuwás, who reigned from A.D. 490 till 525, and was a very zealous Jew. He became so exasperated, especially against the people of Najrán, that he slew many thousands of them because they refused to embrace Judaism.¹⁵² In a Syriac letter of St. Simeon, bishop of Beth-Arsam, written A.D. 524 by him on his return from Hīrah with the priests who had been sent by the emperor Justin to the court of Mundir for the purpose of concluding a treaty of peace, the treatment experienced by the Christians of Najrán at the hands of Du Nuwás is alluded to by the introduction of the following

¹⁵² See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. XII., p. 199 :— "Some beliefs," &c.

despatch from the latter to Mundir, king of Hirah :—"Be aware, O brother king Mundir, that the king appointed by the Ethiopians [Abyssinians] over our country having died, and they being, on account of the approach of winter, unable to come again, and to establish a Christian king, I have occupied the entire Hemyaritic kingdom. First I caught all the Christians, and threatened them with death, unless they would become Jews like ourselves. I slew 280 priests, as well as the Ethiopians who guarded the church, which I converted into a synagogue. Then I moved my camp with 120,000 men to Najrân their capital, which, when I had in vain besieged for several days, I made an oath to the people, but with the mental reservation not to keep it, that I would not kill them; accordingly they surrendered the city, and I ordered them to bring forward their gold, silver, and all their property. Then I asked about their bishop Paul, and when they said that he had died I believed them not until they showed me his tomb, whence I took his bones and burnt them. I also burnt their church with the priests, and all who had taken refuge in it, forcing the others to abjure Christianity, which they refused to do, and preferred death to life."¹⁵³ This letter terminated with a request to Mundir not to allow any Christians to live in his country unless they consented to exchange their religion for his.¹⁵⁴ No further notice appears to have been taken by Mundir of this letter, except the reading of it in public, when a soldier of his army, many of whom appear to have been Christians, exclaimed, "O king! we have not been made Christians in your time to be compelled to abjure Christ now." This boldness was, however, not punished, and some state that Mundir himself became a Christian; if such was the case, his conversion must have taken place at a later period.¹⁵⁵

There appear to have been at least four bishoprics in Yemen, namely Zafur, A'den, Najrân, and a town on the Persian Gulf. The

¹⁵³ *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. I., pp. 364 *et seq.*

¹⁵⁴ According to the *Nāsekh-al-Towārikh*, Kōbād II. removed Mundir from the throne for refusing to embrace the religion of Mazdak, but Nushirvân restored him.

¹⁵⁵ It does not appear clear what religion Mundir followed, but Assemani (*Bibl. Or.*, tom. III., pt. II., p. dci.) asserts that he was a pagan :—"Ethnicum autem fuisse constat tum ex Procopio, tum ex iis que Betharsanensis testis vivus et præsens narrat." According to Hammer-Purgstall, p. 76, tom. I., *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, Mundir reigned from A.D. 520 till 537; according to Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, from A.D. 513 till 562, and the Jew Du Nuwās in Yemen from A.D. 490 till 525.

records about the bishops are scanty enough. Paul, who had been two years dead when Du Nuwás occupied Najrán, is the first known incumbent of that seat. The next bishop was John, whom Justinian I. sent in the 16th year of his reign, when Theophanes with several other legates arrived and asked for one, as well as for priests. The emperor replied that they might select any one they liked; accordingly they took John from the church of St. John the Baptist in Alexandria, who was at that time sixty-two years old, and departed with some priests of his own choice to Yemen. This bishop was succeeded by Gregentius, who presided over the diocese of Zafar when the Christian king Abrahah, who built churches in every town, restored the supremacy of the Christian religion after conquering Yemen.¹⁵⁶ St. Gregentius, whose ordinances and rules of conduct for his flock, written in Greek, may be seen in the appendix to Hammer-Purgstall's *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, vol. I., died about A.D. 536, and was succeeded by some bishop sent by the patriarch of Alexandria, who died after a brief tenure of office. Another Hemyarite bishop was ordained by Paulus, otherwise called Zoilus, the orthodox patriarch of Alexandria, who obtained possession of the church after driving into exile the heretic Monophysite Theodosius; but the Hemyarites did not accept the new bishop, because they had already gone over to the Monophysites, and sent legates to the emperor Justinian, requesting him to send them a prelate who would by no means adhere to the decision of the Chalcedonian council. The emperor being deaf to their entreaties, they annually importuned him on this point until he was relieved of them by death A.D. 565; during this contention, which lasted twenty-five years, all their own bishops had successively died, so that henceforth they themselves elected bishops by placing the book of the Gospels on the new bishop's head. The bishops of Botsra (ecclesiastically named the metropolis of Arabia), although more numerous than those of Yemen, do not exceed sixteen¹⁵⁷ who are known by name, till the latter part of the 17th century.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Zotenberg's *Tabary*, tom. II., pp. 188 *et seq.*

¹⁵⁷ Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. II., pp. 852 *et seq.*

¹⁵⁸ Yemen was under the Christian government of the Abyssinian Aryat, who began to reign, after conquering the Jewish king Du Nuwás, about A.D. 525. Aryat was succeeded by Abrahah, A.D. 537, and the latter by his own son Yakshum, who was followed by Masruk, the last Abyssinian. Then Yemen became tributary to Persia, Sayf being the first, Madi Karib the second, Wahriz the third, Marzbán the fourth, and Badan the fifth and last Persian viceroy, who governed Yemen till the promulgation of Islám, of which he made profession.

The Christians of St. John, also called Sabæan Christians, dwelt on the frontiers of Chaldæa and the coasts of Arabia adjoining the Persian Gulf; most of them used the Persian language, although those dwelling on the Arabian side spoke Arabic. Their sacred language was Syriac, and their religion had nothing in common with Zoroastrianism, but was a compound of Jewish, Christian, and afterwards even of Muhammadan tenets. They worshipped one God, but also angels and stars, prayed turning to the west, and sometimes to the south, and read the Psalms of David, but esteemed very highly a Chaldæan book which they attributed to Adam, to whom, as well as to Seth and Enoch, they attributed certain moral maxims they professed to follow.¹⁵⁹ These are the Sabæans alluded to in the 2nd Surah of the Korán in the words, "Verily those who believed and who are Jews, and the Christians and the Sabæans, and believe," &c.

Hirah was tributary to the Sasanians already in the beginning of the reign of Shápúr II., by whose consent Amrulkays was appointed king. How close the relations between the courts of Persia and Hirah were, appears, among other things, also from the well-known fact that Yazdegird II.—called generally by some also the First, because very little is known about his predecessor—entrusted his son Behráw Gúr for education to No'mán B. Amrulkays, who reigned from A.D. 390 to 418. This No'mán was, according to Mirkhond and others, a pagan, but had a Christian vizier, who converted him. One day No'mán was sitting on a balcony of the Khavarnaq castle and said to his vizier, "I know of no other place in the world with such a beautiful prospect of landscape, with water, woods, and meadows." The Vizier replied, "O king! it would be well if you could also in the next world have a castle like this." The king said, "How can the affairs of the next world be known?" He replied, "If you leave off the worship of idols, and accept the religion of God, the next world will be revealed to you." These words made such an impression on No'mán that he immediately learnt the chief articles of the Christian faith, came down from the balcony, put away his royal garments, dressed himself in sackcloth, and so shunned human society that he could be seen no more by any one.

During the reign of Nushirván, Christianity appears to have been dominant in Hirah, and No'mán V. became a professor of it on his first meeting with A'dy's daughter in a church at Hirah, before he

¹⁵⁹ *Bibl. Or. Asa.*, tom. III., pt. II., p. dex.

attained royalty, and of his subsequent marriage to her a very lively account is given in the *Kitāb Allagh'ūny*.¹⁶⁰ At that time the bishop of Hīrah was Jāber B. Shima'ūn, and the conversion of No'mān— who appears, according to the *Nūsekh-al-towārikh*, to have been still a pagan when he married his Christian wife, and even after he had become king—is in that work narrated as follows:—No'mān had established a lucky and an unlucky day annually; on the former he distributed prizes, and on the latter he punished. Once he happened to lose his way when hunting, and having been hospitably received by Hanzalah, a poor Arab of the desert, he told him, when he departed, to come to Hīrah, where he would reward him. Hanzalah arrived some time afterwards, but on the ill-fated day, and was therefore to be punished with death. The king, however, allowed him one year's respite, on condition of his leaving a hostage, who should be executed in case Hanzalah failed to make his appearance; and the latter at last succeeded in finding a man, named Kerār, of the Kalb tribe, who agreed to become his substitute. Hereon No'mān presented Hanzalah with five hundred camels, and the latter departed to spend the last year of his life with his family, as well as to make all necessary arrangements. At last the unfortunate anniversary arrived, and Hanzalah the Tāyi having failed to make his appearance, the king issued orders to slay Kerār; the nobles of the court demurred, however, to this proposal, on the score that it would not be fair to execute the substitute unless after the expiration of the time granted, namely at sunset. Accordingly No'mān waited, but repeated his command when the orb of day was about to disappear, and lo! a man was seen hastening from a distance, who proved to be Hanzalah. No'mān was much astonished, and, unwilling to deprive him of life, asked, "Why have you again courted the danger of losing your life, after once making your escape?" He replied, "Because I am bound to be honest." No'mān continued, "Who has taught you to be honest?" He replied, "My religion." No'mān asked, "Explain your religion to me that I may accept it, because such a religion must be true." After that Hanzalah explained the doctrines of the Christian religion to No'mān, who henceforth renounced polytheism with all the people of Hīrah, and made profession of Christianity. No'mān of course granted pardon to Hanzalah, praised Kerār, and

¹⁶⁰ Bulak edition, tom. II., pp. 22—23

abolished the unlucky day for ever. The successor of No'mán was Iyas B. Kabuḥah, from A.D. 605-614. He was indebted for his elevation to Khosru Parviz, whom he had aided in his flight to the Roman dominions as far as the frontier fort of Circesium; the kingdom of Hīrah was, however, so reduced in his time, that his authority extended to not more than thirty villages around the capital. The last sovereign of Hīrah was the Persian satrap Zadyah, from A.D. 614 to 631. During his reign the power of Islám rose, and the Arab tribes submitted one after another to it, and embraced Muhammadanism, between the years A.D. 628 and 631; they had, however, already before that time become independent of the Persian monarchy, which was torn by confusion, and distracted by a quick succession of weak and ephemeral kings.

When Muḥammad had established his power he sent Mua'ád B. Jabal with A'bdullah B. Zayd and many others to Yemen to receive the capitation tax. Muḥammad dismissed the first-named individual, who appears to have been the leader of the others, with the following brief instruction:—"Be easy and not difficult, promulge good tidings and give no offence. When thou comest to the people who are the possessors of the scripture [*i.e.* Christians and Jews], they will ask thee, What is the key to paradise? Say, The profession that there is no God but Allah, who has no partner." On that occasion he sent envoys to various kings with invitations to accept Islám, and the Mohájer Ben Abu Omayyah Almakhzúmy bore such a message to Al-Háreth Ben A'bd Kellál Al-Hemyáry, the king of Yemen.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ "The Life of Muḥammad according to the tradition of A'bd-ul-Malek Ben Hesham, obtained from Muḥammad Ben Eshák." From my MS. translation of the Arabic text edited by Dr. Wüstenfeld.

ART. III.—*The English and their Monuments at Goa.*—By
J. GERSON DA CUNHA, M.R.C.S.

During that remarkable period from 1798 to 1815, when almost the whole continent of Europe was the theatre of wars by the army of Napoleon, Goa was occupied by English troops. So uncommon an incident, notwithstanding the just remark of Goldsmith that all history increases in value the nearer it approaches our own time, has been so lightly touched upon by historians as to be almost lost sight of in the stream of great events that have with unusual rapidity followed each other from the beginning of this century.

Soon after the French Revolution, all the Indian settlements belonging to that nation having been captured by the English, and the possessions of other European powers, except the little Portuguese settlements of Goa, Diu, and Damaun, having by degrees fallen into their hands, India appeared to be blessed with profound repose. Under such an appearance, however, a most formidable conspiracy was going on in the interior of Hindustan; and the French, under the control of the mighty Bonaparte, were again trying to establish an empire in Asia, of which the rival arms of Great Britain had deprived them.

The opportune possession of Bourbon and the Isle of France, in the Indian Ocean, their treaties of alliance with Tipû Sultân, and the influential position of their officers in the service of different Marâthâ chieftains and at the court of the Nizâm, organizing native armies on European principles, appeared to the French to be a favourable occasion to regain their former prestige and power. But, to carry out such a project with success, they were much in need of a central point on the Malabar Coast from whence to direct their operations; and that much-coveted point was Goa.

The desire of the French to possess Goa is evidenced by the following extract from a MS. entitled “*Mémoire sur l'importance actuelle de l'Inde, et les moyens les plus efficaces d'y rétablir la nation Française dans son ancienne splendeur.*” which was obtained for the British at Pondicherry, written by a French officer named Stanislas Lefebvre, who accompanied General Decaen to India. “*Bombay et Goa,*” says Lieut. Lefebvre, “*sont sans contredit les deux pointes les plus essentielles de la côte occidentale de la Presqu'île de l'Inde, mais dans l'alternatif et*

l'impossibilité d'attaquer les deux à la fois, Goa semble présenter aux François beaucoup plus d'avantages réels : d'abord en raison du territoire considérable qu'en dépend, et pouvoit entretenir l'armée par ses revenus ; ensuite par la bonté de son port, et sa position avantageuse en regard aux états Marattes, avec qui l'on ne sauroit trop le répéter il est désormais indispensable d'entretenir étroites liaisons. L'importance de cette conquête en temps de paix ne seroit pas moindre en raison de la facilité qu'elle offre de communiquer avec la Mer Rouge, et il est aisé d'entrevoir que par la suite cette communication peut rendre à nouveau cette ville autrefois si florissante, l'entrepôt de toutes les richesses de l'Asie, en bouleversant totalement le système commercial actuel, et faisant reprendre aux productions de l'Indostan la route que les Arabes et les Vénitiens leur faisoient avant le découverte de Cap de Bonne Espérance par Vasco de Gama."*

Amidst such conflicting interests, there arrived at Calcutta, on the 17th May 1798, Lord Mornington (afterwards Marquis Wellesley) and his brother Colonel Wellesley (afterwards the renowned Duke of Wellington). On succeeding Sir John Shore, Lord Mornington found the state of affairs in India extremely critical. Tipû Sultân, the ruler of Mysore, had sent an embassy to the French Governor of the Isle of France to propose an alliance with the object of driving the English away from India. The French flag had in the mean while been carried in triumph from Alexandria to Suez, and Napoleon was awaiting his opportunity for invading India. Under such circumstances one of the skilful measures of Lord Mornington, of whom it is said that "wherever he saw a Frenchman, there he was prepared to discern a foe," was to counteract by all means within his reach the designs of the French against Goa, by immediately despatching an Envoy thither, to be soon followed by troops to garrison its principal forts.

The first document relating to this affair is a letter by Lord Mornington, dated Fort William, 14th July 1798, addressed to Lieut.-General Stuart, which runs thus:—"It appears certain by the last accounts from Europe that the French will soon either conquer Portugal, or compel that power to sign a disgraceful treaty of peace, in which case the French will endeavour to obtain possession of Goa."† After some lengthy reflections, he adds that he would make every effort to secure

* *Wellesley Despatches*, vol. IV., pp. 657, 658.

† *Ibid.*, vol. I., p. 128.

Goa from such a fate, and with this view offer to the Portuguese Governor the terms proposed to the several Dutch Governments in India,* and if the terms should be rejected he would directly attempt the reduction of Goa. He asks Lieut.-General Stuart whether the Governor of Goa would admit a British garrison into that settlement, and requests him to state what other measures would be likely to frustrate the supposed desigus of the French against Goa, and what force would be necessary for its reduction. Lieut.-General Stuart replied, and although both were so early impressed with the importance of providing in the most effectual manner for the safety of Goa, the extensive preparations that became necessary in consequence of the conquest of Egypt by Bonaparte on the 1st July 1798, combined with the hostile proceedings of Tipû Sultân, precluded the possibility of their furnishing a force for the protection of Goa. The fall of Seringapatam, however, followed on the 4th May 1799, and Lord Mornington from that moment lost no time in adopting means for the accomplishment of that object, rendered more urgent by the discovery, at the conquest of Mysore, of papers consisting of a letter from Tipû Sultân to the French Directory, and a note of demand by Tipû's ambassadors, their aim being the alliance of the two Governments in opposition to the English, the Portuguese colonies playing a conspicuous part in the division of conquests between the two allied nations.† He selected Joseph Uhthoff, one of the Commissioners of Malabar, for the post of British Envoy at Goa, and his conduct in the course of these important and delicate transactions is said to have obtained for him the approbation of the Honourable Court of Directors.

The British troops employed in the defence of Goa were chiefly drawn from Bombay, and the question respecting their payment was agreed to be referred to the respective Home Governments of the two nations, and in the mean while the accounts of their expenses were kept in a separate form. The troops consisted of a detachment of about eleven hundred rank and file, furnished by H. M.'s 75th, 77th, and 84th Regiments, under the command of Colonel Sir William Clarke, Bart., of whom I shall speak more at length hereafter.

From a despatch by Lord Mornington to the Secret Committee of the Honourable Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 25th October

* The Dutch held then the settlements of Chinsura on the Hooghly and Negapatam on the coast of Tanjore, which were made over to the English in 1824, and they received in return the English possessions on the coast of Sumatra.

† *Wellesley Despatches*, vol. I., pp. 710-712.

1799, we learn that the British troops were admitted into Goa on the 6th September of that year, "with every demonstration of the most perfect cordiality and distinguished attention" on the part of the Governor of Goa, Francisco Antonio da Veiga Cabral. Lord Mornington adds that the importance of providing for the safety of Goa by garrisoning it with British troops was strongly impressed on his mind as early as the month of June 1798, but that subsequent to this Egypt was occupied by the French, and he could realize his idea only after the fall of Seringapatam, in consequence of a negotiation which he had opened with the Governor of Goa.

But from some correspondence between Lord Mornington and Henry Dundas it appears that the former was not quite satisfied with the mere admission of British troops into Goa; he wanted more than this, for he writes:—"You ought to endeavour to negotiate with Portugal the cession of Goa, for which you might give Malacca in exchange, as the French look to Goa, and will labour to obtain it, either by force or intrigue."* Again, in a letter dated 24th October 1799 and addressed to the same gentleman, he says, "You are already informed of my opinions with regard to the importance of the possession of Goa to our security and interest in every point of view, and I should hope that the present might prove a favourable opportunity for accomplishing the great advantage of obtaining the cession of Goa, either to the Crown or to the Company, in exchange either for Malacca or the Spice Islands, or for some equivalent pecuniary compensation. It appears to me that the attempt to obtain this cession ought not to be delayed, and, as I know you concur with me in my estimate of its value, I rely on you that the negotiation with the court of Lisbon will be immediately opened."†

Lord Mornington was, however, prevented from indulging further his scheme to add Goa to the British possessions, by the Governor of Goa, instead of allowing the English Governor-General to take Goa away from his hands, putting forward his own claims to a part of the territory of Canara, then recently conquered by British arms, and secured to them by the treaty of Mysore.

In reference to this subject Lord Mornington, under the date of 24th October 1799, writes to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas thus:—"The claims of Portugal to any part of the Canarese dominions of the

* *Wellesley Despatches*, vol. II., p. 42.

† *Ibid.*, p. 129.

late Tipû Sultân are so obviously weak, that I do not think it necessary to trouble you further on that subject than to request you to advert to the length of time during which the places claimed by the Portuguese have belonged to the State of Mysore, and to the nature of the conquest which brought them under our power. The Governor and Captain-General's pretensions to be considered as an ally in the late war appear to be founded principally on the share which His Excellency bore in issuing an order for a royal salute to be fired from For Alguada (Aguada) on the occasion of the fall of Seringapatam, and of the death of Tipû Sultân. Although this claim is certainly more powerful than any which can be alleged for his Highness the Peishwa, I do not expect that, in the most liberal construction, this meritorious effort of forward and active zeal of His Excellency the Governor and Captain-General will be deemed to entitle Her Most Faithful Majesty (D. Maria I.) to any portion of our conquests. Even if the principle could be applied to cases of alliance in war, I doubt whether any degree of promptitude and alacrity manifested in rejoicing over the destruction of our late enemy could justify a claim on the part of the Governor and Captain-General to the right of an accessory after the fact."* This is true, though sarcastic enough, for the claims advanced by Cabral were utterly unreasonable; but Lord Mornington forbore speaking so plainly to the Governor of Goa himself, and wrote him instead—in reply to his letter of the demand, which probably arose from the courteous reception he had accorded to the British Envoy and garrison at Goa—that his claims should be submitted to the decision of their respective governments in Europe. This answer may perhaps have been conformable with his politics.

The position of the British Envoy and troops at Goa had another advantage for the English Government, besides that of protecting the settlement against the French invasion. Lord Mornington writes to Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, thus:—"It has occurred to me that this communication between the E. I. Company and Purushram Bhow (a Maratha chieftain of Chittledoorg and Bednore, and once the arch-enemy of Tipû Sultân) can best be opened and maintained from the coast of Malabar (perhaps from Goa), from which place to the residence of Purushram Bhow the route would probably be found sufficiently easy and secure. It is my wish that Lieut.-Colonel Little and Mr. Uthhoff should be employed on this mission, and that for

* *Wellesley Despatches*, vol. II., pp. 128, 129.

this purpose they should proceed with as little delay as possible to Goa."*

The above letter is dated the 30th April 1799, and it was soon after that Uhthoff was sent to Goa, and about a couple of months after the monsoon (rainy season) the British troops entered the port of Goa.

I have so far confined myself to the despatches of the Governor-General. Now let us turn our attention to those of Colonel (about this time General) Wellesley. While the former treats of Goa as far as it affects his political situation, the latter indents on its resources for the comfort of his troops in the vicinity of Goa. In a letter dated the 21st September 1799, and addressed to J. Uhthoff, British Envoy at Goa, he informs him that Sunda is taken possession of, and the European troops being far away from the source of supply of articles of most need to them, he is induced to look towards Goa for some of them, such as arrack for soldiers and wine for officers, and promises liberal payment if those articles are sent to Sûpâ, only thirty miles from Goa.†

On the next day he writes to Colonel Stevenson thus:—"I have written to Mr. Uhthoff at Goa to request that he will endeavour to prevail upon the traders there to bring supplies for the European officers and soldiers from thence to the army at Sûpâ. I beg that you will desire the officer proceeding there to communicate with Mr. Uhthoff as soon as possible after he will arrive there, and to assist with small guards any traders that may wish to come to the army." The principal articles required were, as above remarked, Portuguese wine and Goa arrack. Respecting the latter article General Wellesley writes on the 13th October 1800 to Uhthoff thus:—"I don't imagine that the Goa arrack is of so good quality as that made at Batavia or Colombo, and as it is more liable to adulteration * * * * no more may be purchased for the use of the army."‡ The editor of these despatches adds here a note stating that the Bata-vian arrack is made from rice, that of Colombo from the juice of the cocoanut flower, and the Goa arrack is a less pure spirit because it is made chiefly from the date palm. It must be observed here, however, that the date palm is a very rare plant at Goa, and that the Goa arrack is obtained from the same source as that of Colombo.

* *Wellesley Despatches*, vol. I., p. 563.

† *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IV., p. 329.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 334, 335.

During the year 1800 the British garrison of Goa consisted of one European regiment and two battalions of sepoys. During the monsoon of that year, when it was very improbable that an attempt would be made by the French against Goa, one of these battalions was sent up to Sunda.

About the middle of the next year (1801) a sudden change of an ominous nature was observed in the political horizon of Europe; and General Wellesley, who had hitherto maintained a confident tone respecting the security of the British interests at Goa, now became extremely apprehensive about its fate. On the 15th June 1801 he writes from Seringapatam to Sir William Clarke thus:—“The consequence of affairs in Portugal will probably be a peace between that kingdom and France, the first condition of which peace it is likely will be either that Goa shall be surrendered to the French, or that the detachment of British troops now at that place shall be sent away. In either case it is not probable our Government will give up the footing which has been gained at Goa; and our efforts must be directed to retain it,—at least till the orders of Government are received to abandon it.”* Elsewhere he writes:—“You must be the best judge whether, with your present force, you will be able to retain your position at Goa as long as the British Government should think it proper. In my opinion it is desirable that you should keep secret from the Governor of Goa the intelligence received from Lisbon, and that you should not add to your strength at Goa immediately, even if you should think that you will eventually require troops, unless you should be of opinion that the force will be wanted at the moment that the intelligence of the state of affairs in Portugal will arrive at Goa. If the consequence of the state of affairs in Portugal, as represented in Mr. Frere’s letter, should be that you are to maintain your position at Goa against the inclination of the Portuguese Governor, * * * you must look forward to the mode of supplying your detachment with provisions, at least until navigation of the western coast shall again be open. I don’t exactly know in what manner you live at Goa. * * * You may depend upon it that if you are to remain at Goa contrary to the inclinations of the Government, the first step on their part will be to endeavour to distress you for provisions.”†

Sir William Clarke replied stating that should the Governor of Goa

* *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IV., p. 447. † *Ibid.*, p. 449.

desire him to withdraw at a short notice, he would retort that he could not do so without orders from the Governor-General; should the demand, however, be insisted on, then he would immediately take a more central position in the island of Goa,—at the Arsenal, for instance,—and with the remainder of his force secure his magazines at Gaspar Dias and Cabo, and occupy the port of St. Iago, this being the principal pass into the island from the eastward (and a pass that has, moreover, an historical import, being the place of encampment of the redoubtable Adil Khân when he tried for the second time to reconquer Goa from the hands of Albuquerque, about the beginning of the sixteenth century). Sir William adds that should orders be given him to seize the place, he would immediately make the grenadier battalion from Sûpâ penetrate by the Tinem Ghât as far as Pondâ, instead of prosecuting the route from Sadâsivagadh, and having to encounter in the neighbourhood of Margaõ one of the European Portuguese regiments. Pondâ, he says, is about ten miles from St. Iago, and on the approach of native troops there he would push 300 men of the 84th, with two field-pieces, across the river from St. Iago, to cover the advance of these troops into the island, and then join in an attack upon the post of Margaõ. The most difficult operation would, however, remain to be performed, and that is “carrying the fort of Aguada.” But the accession of the native troops would allow of his detaching 600 men of the 84th against the fortress, and he has little doubt of succeeding against it by escalade or assault. Having done this, “the Portuguese territory in this quarter,” Sir William exultingly adds, “would be our own.”* And so it would, but that no such violent measures did ever become necessary.

In consequence of the above reply, General Wellesley, writing to Captain Lewis on the 2nd July 1801, says, “You may tell Colonel Stevenson that I have heard from Sir William Clarke, who thinks himself very secure with the assistance which I have proposed to afford him against any effort which the Portuguese can make to remove him. You can depend upon it that I am fully aware of the advantages of our situation at Goa, and very unwilling to give it up.”†

About the end of October 1801 the position of Sir William Clarke at Goa was, however, not so secure as his former communications had led General Wellesley to believe. A communication from the General to Lieut.-General Stuart states that he had received letters from Sir

* *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IV., pp. 491 et seq. † *Ibid.*, p. 490.

William regarding his situation at Goa, from the perusal of which he infers that Sir William does not think himself strong enough to take possession of the place while the Governor of Goa has a strong disinclination.

In course of time, however, the difficulties were smoothed, and the Governor of Goa not only consented to receive a company of native infantry in place of about fifty recovered sepoy belonging to different corps, who had been left at Goa, but the negotiations were carried on by Sir William with such tact as to succeed in procuring orders from the Governor for the introduction of British troops into Damaun and Diu, in disobedience to the orders which the Governor had received from Portugal.*

In reference to the result of these negotiations, General Wellesley writes to Jonathan Duncan, on the 5th November 1801, thus:—"Are you not astonished at Sir William Clarke's success in his negotiation with the Government of Goa regarding Damaun and Diu? We must notwithstanding secure Goa, and upon this subject I have lately urged General Stuart."†

Within one month, however, circumstances were altered. The Governor of Goa had changed his mind, and desired Sir William to withdraw the British troops from Goa; but General Wellesley interfered in the affair, stating that, the occupation of the country being merely military, he would have no scruple in advising Sir William not only not to withdraw from his position, but to draw into Goa forthwith as large a body of troops as would secure his stay there, taking the precaution, however, by the adoption of so violent a measure, not to create more extensive political complications, which it was necessary to avoid.‡

About the beginning of the year 1802 all the obstacles had been more or less overcome, and that happy turn affairs had taken was, it seems, materially aided by a letter from Lord Mornington to the Governor and Captain-General of Goa. As this letter gives an insight into the intricacies of the political situation of the time, I shall offer no apology for inserting it here *in extenso* :—

* *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. II., pp. 610-616.

† *Ibid.*, vol. II., p. 613.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 636, 637.

No. CLXVII.

"THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY
OF GOA.

"Cawnpore, January 17th, 1802.

"SIR,

"1. By authentic advices which I have just received from Europe, I am apprised of the conclusion of a treaty of alliance between the Governments of France and Portugal, by which Her Most Faithful Majesty has been compelled to abandon the relations hitherto subsisting with His Britannic Majesty, and to unite with the Government of France in hostile proceedings against the British Empire.

"2. Under the knowledge of this event, it becomes my indispensable duty to adopt the necessary measures for precluding the Government of France from the means of applying the resources of the Portuguese possessions in India, under the provisions of the late treaty of alliance, to purposes injurious to the interests of Great Britain.

"3. The security of this object manifestly requires that the Portuguese Settlements in India should be immediately placed under the authority of the British Power, and should continue subject to that authority until these possessions shall be restored to Her Most Faithful Majesty by any arrangement which may take place at the conclusion of a general peace in Europe, or which may be hereafter established between His Britannic Majesty and the Court of Lisbon.

"4. Anxious that the measures which my duty compels me to pursue with respect to the Settlement of Goa should be carried into effect without injury to the persons and property of its inhabitants, and desirous to combine with the execution of those measures the utmost consideration for your Excellency's high rank and exalted station, and also wishing to make every practicable provision for your Excellency's convenience and accommodation, I have directed Sir William Clarke, previous to the employment of the force placed under his command, to propose to your Excellency terms for the peaceable surrender of the civil and military government of Goa and its immediate dependencies.

"5. Your Excellency's wisdom and discernment will suggest to you the inutility of opposing any resistance to the accomplishment of this measure, and your Excellency's justice and humanity will not permit you to expose the lives and property of the inhabitants of Goa to the danger of an unavailing contest with the superior power of the British army.

"6. In expectation of this, I have directed Sir W. Clarke to receive and to communicate to me any representations which your Excellency may desire to convey to me relating to the concerns and interests of the Portuguese Settlements, also relating to any points connected with the execution of the

orders and instructions with which he has been furnished. It will afford me satisfaction to conform to your Excellency's wishes, on all occasions, to the utmost extent compatible with the obligations of my public duty.

"7. It is proper that I should inform your Excellency that I have transmitted orders for the introduction of the British authority into the Settlements of Damaun and Diu, similar to those which I have deemed it necessary to issue for the occupation of the Settlement of Goa.

"8. I refer your Excellency, for a more ample communication upon all these points, to Sir W. Clarke.

I have the honour to be,
With great consideration and respect, Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient, faithful servant,
WELLESLEY.*

A similar letter was addressed to His Excellency the Governor of Macao.

It has been said that one of the most rigorous measures ever displayed by Lord Mornington in his Indian policy was the establishment of subsidiary alliances with the native princes, with the intention to make the Company a paramount power, and to secure the tranquillity of the country. It was perhaps from his possessing such a genius for consolidating an empire that he has, not inaptly, been termed "the Akbar of the Company's dynasty." But he did more than this. Besides establishing subsidiary alliances, and garrisoning with British troops the Portuguese and Dutch settlements, he had treaties made with the native princes stipulating the total exclusion of Europeans hostile to the English from their armies. Here is, for instance, a clause relating to the subject in the treaty of Bassein, signed about the end of the year 1802:—"Whereas it has been usual for His Highness Rao Pundit Purdhaun Behander to enlist and retain in his service Europeans of different countries, his said Highness hereby agrees and stipulates that in the event of war breaking out between the English and any European nation, and of discovery being made that any European or Europeans in his service belonging to such nation at war with the English shall have meditated injury towards the English, or have entered into intrigues hostile to their interests, such European or Europeans so offending shall be discharged by his said Highness, and not suffered to reside in his dominions."†

* *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. II., pp. 617 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.*, vol. II., p. 402.

Within a short time, however, all these precautionary measures were deemed unnecessary, since the treaty of Amiens, signed on the 22nd March 1802, reinstated the French in their former possessions, and the British troops received orders to evacuate Goa. But the Government of France resuming, under the provisions of that treaty, its Indian possessions, made such demonstrations as to clearly reveal their intention to establish, on the foundation of those possessions, a political and military power, and to strengthen and augment it by every practicable connection with the Native States. The reluctance, therefore, with which the British troops quitted Goa may be easily imagined.

Joseph Uthhoff had in the mean while resigned his post of British Envoy at Goa, and Lieut. Dillon was then the Acting Resident. General Wellesley, in a letter addressed to the latter dated the 17th November 1802, says, "By a letter transmitted to me by Major Budden I observe that the Governor-General has ordered that the troops may be withdrawn from Goa. I hope, however, that you are to remain; and, at all events, I beg that you will remain there till you receive the further orders of Government. In the present situation of affairs in this part of India, it is essentially necessary that a person should reside at Goa, on the part of the British Government, who possesses the confidence of, and has an influence over, the persons at the head of the Government of that settlement."*

Again, in a letter addressed the next day to Lieut.-General Stuart, General Wellesley writes thus:—"The Governor General has informed the Governor of Goa that he has given orders that the troops may be withdrawn from thence. . . . It is necessary that the Acting Resident, Lieut. Dillon, should remain at Goa, this place being a most important source of supply for an army in the Mahratta territory, and there is no chance of using that place in that manner unless they have a person residing there in whom the Portuguese have confidence, and who has some influence over the persons at the head of their Government, Lieut. Dillon being of this description."†

In January 1803 General Wellesley writes to Sir W. Clarke:—"It gives me great satisfaction to observe that everything has been brought up from Goa with so much speed."‡ Respecting the contracts for the supply of arrack and other articles from Goa for British troops, he writes elsewhere, "I suspect that the merchants of Goa are not

* *Wellington Despatches*, vol. I., p. 120.

† *Ibid.*, vol. III., p. 407.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 511.

the only people concerned in these contracts for the supply of our troops, but that the members of the Government have some share in them. If that be true, we shall be sure of having the use of that convenient station as a link in our communication with Bombay, as long as they have a beneficial contract in view.”*

The peace resulting from the treaty of Amiens was of so short a duration that a rupture between France and England took place on the 22nd May 1803, and on the 7th June General Wellesley writes to Lieut.-General Stuart thus :—“It appears to be the Governor-General’s intention that, if the Viceroy of Goa will receive a British garrison, British troops should be sent to Goa without loss of time. . . . There are already at Goa two companies of the garrison of Hâlihâl . . . but the Governor-General anticipates the refusal of the Viceroy of Goa to receive the British troops at present, which I acknowledge I think more than probable; and in that case he wishes that troops should be so stationed as to prevent the French from carrying into execution their plans, or to drive them from Goa in case they should get into that place.”† In a short time, however, the difficulties, it appears, were arranged, and a force was ordered to proceed to Goa; for the General, writing to Lieut.-Colonel Montresor on the 9th July says, “I observe that you have been directed to make arrangements to send a force to protect Goa from the French grasp.”‡

The Governor-General, Marquis Wellesley, in a letter addressed to Lord Hobart on the 15th November 1803, writes :—“I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship that a British garrison has occupied the important fortress of Goa, with the entire concurrence of the Portuguese Government of that settlement.”§ Their detachment entered, with the consent of the Portuguese Government, into Goa on the 3rd September 1803. Besides this detachment, the squadron under Vice-Admiral Rainer, stationed off the coast of Malabar, had its attention particularly directed to the defence of Goa.||

At that time, however, the troops were so thinly scattered over all India that only a small force could be spared for Goa. General Wellesley, writing on this subject to Sir William Clarke, says, “Your

* *Wellington Despatches*, vol. III., p. 582. † *Ibid.*, vol. III., pp. 162, 163.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. IV., p. 134.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. III., p. 465.

|| An event of some historical importance, worth notice here, is that some men belonging to the squadron of Vice-Admiral Rainer lost their lives in the great fire in Bombay on the 19th February 1803.—*Iluma viagem de duas mil leguas*, &c., part II., p. 16, and the *Annual Register* for 1803.

situation at Goa is precisely the same as that of every other commanding officer in India. You have not the number of troops you would wish to have to defend your post.”*

Complications with the Portuguese Government soon arose. General Wellesley, in a letter of the 2nd November 1804 to Sir W. Clarke, says, among other things, that the Governor of Goa is not disposed to allow them to retain their footing there; and, to avoid further misunderstanding, he recommends Sir William to have a conference with the Governor. He adds that on no account shall the settlement of Goa be given up to the French; that the Portuguese troops should coöperate with the British, their pay being made equal to the pay received by the British troops, the extra expense being paid by the British Government, and that at the conclusion of the war with France they will deliver over the settlement intact to the Crown of Portugal. These instructions appear to have been carried out with success. To these were added others by the Marquis Wellesley, who on the 11th December 1804 writes, through his Private Secretary, N. B. Edmonstone, to Sir W. Clarke thus:—“In case of the demise of the Viceroy, the Envoy should follow the general principles on which were founded the instructions of H. E. the Governor-General of the 11th December 1801, and 6th and 17th January 1802, and 17th June 1802, to negotiate with the existing Government to place it on the same state of British power as before, and proving his exertions ineffectual, to proceed to assume, in the name of His Majesty, the civil and military government of Goa.†

But there never was the least need of the British assuming the civil government, while their military occupation continued almost uninterrupted, until the general peace in 1815.‡ Thus Goa was for seventeen long years, with the exception of a short interval in 1802, in the hands of a British detachment, who had, however, in compliance with the terms of the agreement, to give it up, although till the end complete masters of the situation, when they saw it incurred no longer the danger of a French invasion.

The period from 1804 to 1815 is devoid of any political interest as far as the British occupation of Goa is concerned, although not absolutely destitute of some curious incidents worth recording in the annals of the country.

* *Wellington Despatches*, vol. IV., p. 192.

† *Ibid.*, vol. IV., pp. 55, 56.

‡ *Ensaio sobre a Estatística*, &c., por J. M. Bordalo, Lisboa, 1862, p. 37.

It is but natural that within such a period there should have occurred frequent changes in the appointments of the Commanding Officer and Political Resident, as well as those of the officers and men belonging to the subsidiary force at Goa.

Sir William Clarke, Bart., who while at Goa kept himself on the best terms with the Portuguese Government, the proof of which lies in the rank of Major-General which he, not unlike several British officers in the Peninsular War, held in the Portuguese army with the sanction of H. M. the King of Great Britain and Ireland, was compelled by ill health to sail on furlough to England in 1804.

On his return to India in 1807 Sir William was posted to the command of troops at Seringapatam, where he died in 1808. Sir William Clarke was one of the most distinguished officers in the British army at the time, and was replaced in his command of the military force at Goa by Colonel Adams. When Goa was visited by Dr. Claudius Buchanan, in January 1808, the British detachment consisted of two European and two native regiments, and were under the command of Colonel Adams, of H. M.'s 78th Regiment. Dr. Buchanan informs us, in his *Christian Researches in Asia*, that when he was going to visit the palace of the Inquisition in the old city of Goa, accompanied by Lieut. Kempthorne of H. M.'s Brig *Diana*, and Capt. Stirling of H. M.'s 84th Regt., which regiment was then at Goa, Colonel Adams facetiously told him that if any accident should befall him within the walls of the Inquisition, he would at once march with the 84th Regiment to Old Goa and take the palace of the Inquisition by assault. Fortunately, however, nothing untoward happened to the reverend tourist, although he had not a little difficulty in attaining the object of his visit—information on the Goa Inquisition from the priest at the head of that dreadful tribunal.

The post of British Envoy at Goa also underwent several changes, the last incumbent being Captain Courtland Schuyler.

The Governors of Goa were changed only twice during this long interval of seventeen years, a circumstance rather unusual in the annals of the Goa Government, though fortunate enough for the British commander, who would, under other circumstances, have had to change his tactics in conformity with the caprice of each new Governor. The two Governors above alluded to were the before-mentioned Francisco Antonio da Veiga Cabral, 89th Governor and Captain-General, who governed from May 1794 to May 1807, and B. J. de Lorena, Conde de Sarzedas,

90th Viceroy and Captain-General, who governed from May 1807 to November 1816.* Of these two the former appears to have been friendly towards the English, although anecdotal tales are not wanting among the people of Goa of how he once offended the whole British detachment by pulling down their flag in their own encampment and hoisting his own. But altogether he seems to have maintained himself on the most cautious of terms with the English officers; while the second appears to have been affected with Anglophobia, and the letters he has left behind cannot but be extremely displeasing to the English, as they are to an impartial historian.

During the administration of Lord Minto, Portugal was occupied by the invading army of France, and orders were received from the English ministry to take possession of the Portuguese settlements in the East,—a measure quite unnecessary with regard to Goa, Diu, and Damaun, where from 1799 an arrangement had been made reserving the civil government to the Portuguese, and assigning the military authority to Great Britain. It was not so, however, in reference to Macao, where in 1801 a reinforcement of British troops to garrison its fort was sent when it was known that the French Government intended to make a descent on it, and which was prevented at one time; but it appears to have subsequently evacuated the settlement altogether.† An expedition was therefore sent, which sailed from Calcutta and Madras in the month of July 1809, and arrived off Macao on the 11th September, to the utter astonishment of the Governor of that settlement, who was without instructions from Lisbon, and refused to receive the sanction of the Viceroy of Goa for giving up the colony to the British on an arrangement similar to the one existing in the Indian settlements. Force was, however, employed, and the English troops were soon in possession of it, although this occupation very nearly provoked a war with China,—for the Celestial Empire thought that it had some right to be consulted on so delicate a matter before undertaking it,—which led to the complete stoppage for some time of the British trade with that country.

Of the several letters from the Viceroy, Conde de Sarzedas, to the Minister at Lisbon, only two bear on the question of the British occu-

* *Boquejo Historico de Goa*, por M. V. d'Abreu, Nova Goa, 1858, pp. 56-57.

† *Wellesley Despatches*, vol. I., pp. 612, 613. Also see a letter dated 20th November 1801 addressed by the Governor-General to James Drummond, President of the Committee of Supercargoes, Canton: *ibid.*, pp. 612, 613.

pation of Goa.* One is dated the 8th October 1808, addressed to the Visconde de Anadia, and refers to the damage caused by the English troops to the fortresses and houses occupied by them at Goa and Damaun.

He also gives a circumstantial narrative of how the English troops landed at the 'Cabo,' at first without the consent of his predecessor, the Governor and Captain-General Veiga Cabral, under the deceitful machinations of a Hanoverian engineer, by name Blister, in the Portuguese service, who then advised the Governor to declare, in order to avoid public scandal, that the reinforcement had entered the Goa territory with his consent. He adds that on his arrival at Goa he met the British Envoy there, by name Courtland Schuyler, and the British detachment was under the command of Lieut.-Col. A. Adams; while Major-General Sir William Clarke, who had left for Europe in 1804, was then in the command of troops at Seringapatam. We have already learnt that it was at Seringapatam that he died soon after, in 1808. The Hanoverian engineer Blister was then dead.

The other letter is dated the 18th December 1812, and is addressed to the Conde das Galveas. It gives a long list of the expenses incurred by the Portuguese Government in the repair of edifices, such as the convent da Graça at Damaun, occupied by British troops, and the fortress of Mormugaõ at Goa; the latter fortress, he adds, was occupied by them in the month of May 1808, and evacuated in that of November 1812. The fortress of Aguada was, according to the Conde de Sarzedas, occupied for the first time on the 2nd January 1802, and evacuated on the 1st April of the same year. The English, he adds, would then have willingly taken possession of Goa, but for the treaty of Amiens being signed just about that time, which compelled them to quit the place. On the first occurrence of a rupture between France and England they again entered that fortress, in the month of November 1804, the troops crossing the mouth of the river in a large number of boats from their encampment on the opposite hill of the 'Cabo,' under the command of Colonel Spray. They did not enter, as before, by the gate, but by escalade, and the first announcement of their having taken possession of the fortress was conveyed to the Governor of Goa by their firing twenty-one guns, and by their warm hurrahs and

† *Bosquejo das Possessões Portuguezas no Oriente*, &c. por Joaquim Pedro Celestino Soares, Lisboa, 1853, vol. iii., pp. 177 *et seq.* and 188 *et seq.*

cheers, which were distinctly heard at the Governor's palace at New Goa. Their occupation of this fortress was so precipitate that no time was allowed for the making of a regular inventory of articles contained in the magazines belonging to that fortress; and therefore while the damage caused by the British troops to the fortress of Mormugão is clearly made out, that to the fortress of Aguada is left out of calculation.

This letter is altogether a deliberate indictment against the British troops of carelessness, making insinuations even against their probity in having quitted Goa without paying their debts. The Viceroy can nevertheless not deny, in spite of his anti-English policy, that considerable profit accrued to local trade from the presence of the British troops there. He confesses that their grasp of the country was so firm that the Portuguese might have lost their settlement altogether, had it not been for the timely interference of St. Francis Xavier, the palladium of Goa, who somehow prevented the English from taking possession of his sacred trust. The tradition still current in the country goes beyond the spiritual protection accorded by the Apostle of the Indies against foreign invasion, by ascribing to him the assumption of the bodily form to drive away the English by his miraculous might and power.* Be this as it may, the belief is still rooted among the people of Goa that as long as the saint's body remains there no earthly monarch will be able to wrest that settlement from the hands of His Most Faithful Majesty the King of Portugal.

The Viceroy at last vents his indignation on some half-caste Portuguese officers who were unpatriotic enough to exchange the Portuguese for the English uniform, in order to flatter the English and get better pay from them.

Now let us pass on to describe the English monuments at Goa. These consist of three tombstones on the hill of 'Sinquerim,' only a few yards distant from, and to the eastward of, the lighthouse, and a pretty large cemetery on the southern slope of the hill called 'Cabo,' almost opposite to 'Sinquerim.' The three tombs at Sinquerim consist of an obelisk and two mounds, one of which had an inscriptional slab, which has been removed, and the other is now reduced to stone and mortar.

The English cemetery at Goa consists of an oblong area, about 180 yards long by 145 broad, walled all round; and the gate, with some

* See my "*Memoir on the History of the Tooth-King of Ceylon*," p. 57.

architectural pretensions, has massive teakwood doors. The key of this door is in the hands of the chaplain in the neighbouring old convent, now reduced to the Governor's summer residence, with a chapel attached to it. There is a gatekeeper, who takes care of the cemetery, and is paid by the English Government six rupees a month. To the right of the gate, let into the wall, is a two-feet square slab, all the letters being worn out except HIS M.'s.....The whole area is studded with tombs, forty-one in number, eight of which have a four-sided wall around. Interspersed among the tombs are thirteen trees,—six mango, six cashew-nut, and one jack-fruit tree.

Besides these relics of the English at Goa, there were until lately the ruins of the barracks and hospital of the English troops at the 'Cabo,' which were demolished in 1848 by the order of the then Governor, José Ferreira Pestana, but at present no vestige of them remains.*

In the English cemetery there are six epitaphs, but none in the state of being easily perused. I had no little difficulty in deciphering them, and I beg to present them to the Society just as I copied them, in the month of October last.

It will be observed from the dates on the tombstones that some persons were buried there subsequent to the time of the British occupation, and even now the English and American residents at Pangim continue to bury their dead in this same cemetery.

Among travellers who have visited the English monuments at Goa, I find only one who has deigned to leave us a record of his impression of them. It is Mr. W. Walker,† who writes :—" I visited the burial-ground at Cabo, built and used by the British force of 10,000‡ men when they held possession of the seaboard points of Goa, to prevent the French entering India by this route in 1805.§ The massive laterite stone wall which surrounds it is as perfect as the day it was built, the laterite in this neighbourhood being the best I have anywhere seen, but the lofty arched entrance gates have long ago been despoiled of every particle of wood.|| The burial-ground is used for rice cultivation, and the

* I am indebted for this information, and for a great deal more, to my friend Sr. Luiz Xavier Correa da Graça, ex-Judge of one of the Courts at Goa, who had, besides, the advantage of being an eye-witness of the events above recorded.

† *Jottings of an Invalid in search of Health*, published under the nom de plume "Tom Cringle," Bombay, 1865, pp. 265, 266.

‡ This number is very much exaggerated.

§ The British occupation began in 1799.

|| There is now a wooden door, of which care is taken.

very tombstones are worn down from the sharpening of native tools on them ; where not cultivated, it is overgrown with high rank grass said to be alive with the deadly *cobra de capello*. If it be true, as I have heard, that the Collector of Belgaum allows an annual sum to keep it in order, I can assure him that not a pice worth of care is bestowed on it,.....and I do not think it is desirable to do so ; for if people who build memorials over the remains of friends do not like to build deep and solid foundations for tombs, and let inscriptions into deep side panels, with an outside protection of plate-glass half an inch thick, they must expect them to fall to decay with more or less rapidity, and it is absurd to think that posterity is to keep gravestones in repair for ever ; and if not for ever, why a day ? Mourners, don't build *shams* as brick and mortar expressions of your grief."

Here follow the inscriptions :—

SACRED
TO
THE MEMORY OF
CAPTAIN JAMES GRAHAM,
OF THE 7TH REGIMENT BOMBAY N.I.,
WHO DIED ON BOARD OF THE
"LADY EAST"
OFF VINGORLA,
ON HIS PASSAGE TO ENGLAND,
ON THE 11TH APRIL A. 1829,
AGED 44 YEARS.

—
J. G.

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
THEODOSIA DORCAS,
THE BELOVED WIFE OF CAPTAIN E. MESSNER, 39 M.N.I.,
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE TWENTY-SECOND SEPTEMBER 1838,
DEEPLY REGRETTED BY ALL WHO KNEW HER, FOR HER
MANY INESTIMABLE VIRTUES.

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
MARGARET REEL,
WIFE OF
JOHN WILLIAM REEL,
CONDUCTOR IN THE
HON'BLE COMPANY'S SERVICE,
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
THE 19TH OF DECEMBER
1808.
SHE WAS A VIRTUOUS WIFE,
AN AFFECTIONATE MOTHER,
AND A FAITHFUL AND SINCERE
FRIEND.

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
SUSANNA JANE PULTON,
WIFE OF CAPTAIN PULTON,
OF THE 3RD REGT. M.N.I.,
WHO DEPARTED ON THE 5TH
SEPTEMBER 1826,
AGED 23 YEARS.

ERECTED
TO THE MEMORY
OF
CAPT. ISW * * * SMITH,
* * No. 2 Bat * * 10 N.I. * * *
BO * * * * * * * *
AMAR * * * * * * *
* * * * *
EST * * * * *

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY
OF
OLIVER * * * BLE,
* * * WHO DEPARTED
THIS LIFE * * * 10
* * OF OCTOBER *
* * * * 15

ART. IV.—*Some plants undescribed in the "Bombay Flora" by Dr. Gibson and Mr. Datzell.* By J. C. LISBOA, Esq., G. G. M. C.

[Read 5th April 1877.]

The following notes, though not of so great a value as some of the very learned papers—such as those treating of the history, literature, and early civilization of India and others—read before this Society, will, I hope, not prove altogether uninteresting. Their object is to draw attention to the study of Indian botany, which has of late been somewhat neglected. In Europe there are numerous botanical and natural history societies, and their special journals, in which are recorded not only lengthy papers, but even single facts, the accumulation of which has served to throw much light upon numerous questions of plant life and the great scheme of Nature.

It is owing to the want of such institutions in this country that many gentlemen, whose official avocations do not permit them time or leisure to write elaborate papers, are deterred from recording their observations.

Every one who has commenced to study Bombay plants must have felt that the want of a work like the Colonial Floras of Hooker and Benthham is a serious drawback. At present the student has to refer to general systematic works for the description of orders, and numerous books must be consulted for that of genera and species. Unless all who take an interest in the progress of botany coöperate and put on paper every well-observed fact, however insignificant it may appear, we shall never have a scientific guide to Bombay flora; and without a good descriptive Botany, in which the numerical proportion of various natural orders, the locality of various genera and species, and the modifications they undergo in various altitudes are given, no satisfactory progress can be made in establishing the Bombay flora on a good scientific basis, nor shall we be able to contribute our data to the solution of numerous questions which relate to the laws which govern the development and distribution of various genera and species, and their modifications caused by climatic and geological influences.

It is the opinion of many who have paid attention to the local flora that we have no good or sure guide to the study of the plants growing in this Presidency. Dr. Hooker, in the Preface to the *Flora of India*, says, "The descriptions of such [Indian plants] as are well described are scattered through innumerable British and foreign journals, or

contained in local Floras or works on general Botany; a very large number are described so incompletely or inaccurately that they can only be recognized after an inspection of original specimens; and very many are altogether undescribed. In short, there is no quarter of the globe so rich in plants, and from which such a mass of materials has been collected and deposited in European museums, and yet of which so little of the Natural History, and especially the Botany, has been systematically brought together. Under these circumstances an exhaustive Flora would be a work of many years and many volumes; and it is as a hand-book to what is already known, and a pioneer, to more complete works, that the present is put forward."

We have two works on Bombay plants, but they are both defective and imperfect; this of course could not be avoided, as they were intended by their authors to be only contributions towards a more complete Flora of Bombay. Regarding one of these books—Graham's *Catalogue of Bombay Plants*—the authors of *Flora Indica* express themselves thus:—"The *Catalogue of Bombay Plants*, by Mr. Graham, published in 1830, has unfortunately been of little use to us, the absence of descriptions rendering it impossible to identify in a satisfactory manner the species referred to. In a thoroughly explored country, the plants of which are accurately determined, such catalogues are of great value; but when the flora is only partially known and imperfectly described they are not to be depended on. In the present instance internal evidence occasionally enables us to recognize with certainty the plant named; but more frequently it shows that the identification is erroneous, without affording that clue which a description would have given for the rectification of the error. This is the more to be regretted as Mr. Graham was, we believe, a botanist of great promise, quite able to have determined with accuracy the plants of the regions he explored."

Bombay Flora, written in 1851 by Mr. N. A. Dalzell and Dr. Gibson, is of greater importance and value, inasmuch as it describes more fully all the species of plants which the authors had seen, thus rendering eminent service to Bombay botany. Still, as I said before, their book is defective in some particulars. Besides not giving the description of orders and genera, which would have been of great use to a large number of students of Indian botany who from their position have neither the means nor time to consult the many books referred to therein, it omits to mention many plants, some of them not at all uncommon. I shall describe a few which have come under my observation.

CARYOPHYLLACEÆ.

Saponaria vaccaria, Linn.; DC. I. p. 363; Wall. *Cat.* 1503; Hooker, *Flora of British India*, I. p. 217; *Gypsopila vaccaria*, Spr. *System.* II. p. 371; W. and A. *Prod.* p. 42; Drury, *Handbook of Ind. Flor.* I. p. 61; *Sap. perfoliata*, Roxb. *Flor. Ind.* II. p. 445; *Bot. Mag.* t. 2290; *S. vacaria* and *oxyodonta*, Boiss. *Flor. Orient.* I. p. 525.

Annual, glabrous, simple or sparingly branched, one and a half to two feet high. Leaves 1 to 3 by $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, linear, oblong, acute, sessile, cordate or rounded at the base. Flowers hermaphrodite, erect; pedicels slender. Cymes corymbose, many-flowered. Calyx half an inch high, with five broad green nerves, ventricose in fruit; teeth triangular, margins scarious. Petals rosy, obovate, short but with long claws, arose at the apex. Capsule broadly ovoid. Seeds large, globose, black, granulate.

All over the Peninsula.

My specimens are from Bassein, where it is very common, and flowers in the cold season.

LEGUMINOSÆ.

Cassia exigua, Drury, *Hand-book*, I. p. 385; *Senna exigua*, Roxb. *Flora Ind.* II. p. 339.

A small, erect, flexuose, hairy plant. Leaflets two pair, oval; stipules and bracts filiform. Racemes somewhat terminal. Flowers small and yellow. These appear at the end of September.

Bengal and Bombay. My specimens are from Worlee, and are the only ones I have seen. They have no pods, and Dr. Roxburgh in describing the plant makes no allusion to the pods.

UMBELLIFERÆ.

Hydrocotyle tenella, Don, *Prod. Flor. Nep.* p. 183; DC. I. p. 64; W. and A. *Prod.* p. 366; Drury, *Hand-book of Ind. Flor.* I. p. 488.

Cespitose, creeping, glabrous; petiole usually solitary, slender. Leaves attached by the margin, reniform, about seven-lobed, shining; lobes roundish, crenated. Umbels capitate, six to eight flowered, sessile. Fruit minute, orbicular, prominently three-ribbed on each side, smooth and flat between the ribs. Flowers whitish; appear towards the end of the rainy season.

Nepal and Neilgherries, in damp woods. It resembles *Hydrocotyle nitidula*, a native of Java, but according to DC. it is distinguished by its having "*folia minus lobata, petioli breviores, umbellæ sessiles.*"

I have not found this plant in a wild state in Bombay, but it is very common in our gardens, where it grows freely and may be said to have become perfectly naturalized. It takes root everywhere easily. Perhaps it may be a recent introduction. I have described it here with the object of calling the attention of the Members thereto, and to ascertain from them whether it is found wild in this Presidency.

LORANTHACEÆ.

Viscum attenuatum, DC. IV. p. 284; W. & A. *Prod.* p. 380;
Viscum opuntioides, Roxb. *Flor. Ind.* p. 764.

Parasitic, leafless, branches dichotomous, opposite or verticillate, compressed, jointed; articulations gradually attenuated from their apex to the base, much longer (generally ten times or more) than broad, striated longitudinally. Flowers three to five together on each side of the apex of the joint; berries globose.

Graham says that it is common throughout the Konkans and the Ghâts. It seems to grow indifferently on all kinds of trees, only preferring the more aged, from their affording, perhaps, more nourishment: "Parasites advance their pride against the power that bred them." The specimen on the table was gathered from an old mango-tree at Chinchpugli. This plant is also found at Sewree growing on bora-trees (*Zizyphus jujuba*).

Bombay Flora mentions only one species, *V. angulatum*, which is said to grow at Chorla Ghât on *Olea puniculata*, and to flower in April. This never becomes flat.

COMPOSITÆ.

Compositæ is a family by far the largest of dicotyledonous plants, but it has very few representatives in India. The authors of *Bombay Flora* describe 63 species, to which must be added the following undescribed by them:—

Vernonia cinerea, var. *glabriuscula*.

The authors of *Bombay Flora* describe three species of *Vernonia*, viz. *V. cinerea*, *V. conyzoides*, and *V. anthelmintica*. Robert Wight, however, describes (*Contrib. to Ind. Bot.* p. 6) a variety of *V. cinerea*, named by him *V. glabriuscula*, which he says is found at Madras and Negapatam. This form is very common in Bombay, and its description accords with that of *V. conyzoides*, which is said to exist on higher ghâts. I am inclined to believe that the latter species is also a variety of *V. cinerea*, being only a more

developed form of *V. glabriuscula*. Mr. C. B. Clarke states (*Compositæ Indicæ*) that *V. conyzoides* "differt a *V. cinerea* serie pappi exterioris brevissima vel obsoleta, et habitu validiore." I must confess, however, that I have not seen *V. conyzoides*, but my opinion is based upon the description and a figure given in Wight's *Icon. Plant. Ind. Orient.* III. t. 1076.

Vernonia divergens, Bth.; *Decaneurum divergens*, DC. V. p. 68 ; Wight, *Icon.* t. 1084 ; *Conyza divergens*, Wall. *Cat.* 3027 ; *Vernonia Nilgherryensis* DC. V. p. 32 ; Wight, *Icon.* t. 1078 ; *Vernonia multiflora*, DC. V. p. 31 ; *Conyza multiflora*, Wall. *Cat.* ; *Eupatorium versicolor*, Wall. *Cat.* 3167 ; Drury, *Handbook Ind. Flor.* II. pp. 6 and 7 ; Clarke, *Comp. Ind.* p. 14.

Annual, herbaceous ; stem erect, roundish, four to six feet high, corymbose superiorly, puberulous or scabrous. Leaves petioled, ovate or elliptic, acute on each side, prickly-serrated, rough above, villous, sub-tomentose, tawny-coloured or pubescent below. Cymes terminal, being composed of numerous panicles : capitula ovate, crowded towards the apices of the ultimate branches, small three to six or four to eight flowered ; scales of the involucre few, pauci-seriate, ovate-oblong, glabrous, pilose at the apex, the external smaller. Pappus rufescent or dirty white, exterior series very short, deciduous. Achæmium ten-costate, glabrous or glandulose, not pilose. Flowers pale pink.

Mr. Clarke says that it is found on the hill Parasnâth in Bihâr to the height of 1,000 feet ; flowers there in the months November to February. In Central India and the Konkan. In all the hills of the Indian Peninsula to the height of 3,000 feet, flowering in the months of March and April. In Burmah and Tenasserim. My specimens are from Matheran, sent to me in January last in full flower. I believe *Eupatorium divergens* of Roxburgh and of Gibson and Dalzell is this species, *V. divergens*.

Vernonia indica, Wall. ; Clarke *Comp. Ind.* p. 16 ; *Decaneurum Dendigulense*, DC. V. p. 67 ; Wight's *Herb.* 1528 ; Wight's *Contrib.* p. 7.

Stem herbaceous, erect, sparingly ramous, striated at the base, pubescent, tomentose at the apex. Leaves sessile, broadly ovate or sub-rotund, the inferior ones three to four inches long, three inches broad, coriaceous, dentate, scabrid or glabrous above, and densely albo-tomentose below ; superior ones oval acute, small. Corymb fastigate, compound. Involucre ovate, scales oval, mucronate, imbricate, tomentose at the back, and glabrous on the inner surface. Achæmium glabrous,

ten-ribbed, glandulous between the ribs. Pappus of one series, rigid, dirty straw-coloured.

Dendigul; hills of Indian Peninsula.

The specimen on the table was given to me by my friend Nasarvânji Khân Sâheb, who collected it at Sholâpur in 1876. Its characters, so far as I can make out, are those of *Decaneurum Dendigulense* of DC., who is silent regarding the number of florets in each capitulum, but Mr. Clarke states that each head is composed of four to six. This is probably a mistake, for in each capitulum there are from twenty to forty-six and more florets. This species of *Vernonia* is placed by Bentham under *Sec. Gymnanthemum*, which is characterized thus:—"Capitula corymboso vel subpyramdato paniculata haut magna, multiflora," &c.

Ageratum conyzoides, Linn.; DC. V. p. 108; Mig. *Flor. Ind.* II. p. 23; Wight's *Contrib.* p. 8; Drury, II. p. 12; Clarke, p. 30; *Ageratum cordifolium*, Roxb. *Flor. Ind.* III. p. 415; Hooker's *Exot. Flor.* t. 15.

An erect branching annual, one to two feet high, more or less hirsute with spreading hairs. Leaves long-petiolate, ovate, crenate-serrate, opposite or rarely superior alternate. Flower-heads rather small, in dense terminal corymbs. Involucral scales triangular, linear, acute, striate, or three-ribbed on the dorsal surface, in about two rows. Florets numerous, white, or sometimes pale blue. Achænes black, glabrous, scales of the pappus five, dilated at the base, serrulate, long-awned at the apex, almost equalling the corolla.

This species is very common in Bombay, and is spread all over the warmer regions of the globe, ascending to the height of 5,000 feet, and flowering all the year round. The whole plant has a strong unpleasant smell, and is known in the Southern Marâthâ Country and in Goa by the name of *ganera*.

Blumea is a considerable genus represented in Asia, Africa, and Australia, and is especially numerous in India. Drury (*Hand-book*) mentions 42 species, and C. B. Clarke (*Comp. Ind.*) 26. The authors of *Bombay Flora* describe only 8; to these must be added the following, which are very common in Bombay:—

Blumea runcinata, DC. V. p. 438; *Conyza runcinata*, Wall. *Cat.* No. 3087; *Blumea sonchifolia*, DC. V. 438; Drury, II. p. 32; *Conyza sonchifolia*, Wall. *Cat.* No. 3085; *Blumea laciniata*, DC. V. p. 436; Drury, *Hand-book*, II. p. 38; *Conyza laciniata*, Roxb. *Flor. Ind.* III. p. 427; *Blumea cinarescens*, DC. V. p. 438.

Stem annual, erect, one to six feet high (large in good soil), corymbosely paniculate, particularly near the top, striated, shining, cinereo-villous. Inferior leaves oblong-elliptic, attenuated into the petiole, inciso-pinnatifid or lyrate, superior oblong sessile, serrate, or incise-serrate, villous or pubescent on both sides, the floral ones about two inches long, the lower or radical ones six or eight inches long. Corymb elongated into a simple or compound panicle. Capitula not all pedicelled, often more or less fascicled, the inferior being sessile on the branches of the panicle, the superior congested into a form of thyrsus. Involucral scales, linear acuminate, longer than the disk, green at first, at last purpureous, villous on the back; the external patent, sometimes marked with black tips. Flowers golden yellow, conical. Receptacle slightly convex, densely pilose, with very short hairs.

Common in Bombay. In flower during the cold months.

Blumea lacera, DC. V. p. 436; Drury, II. p. 31; Clarke, p. 76; *Conyza lacera* and *Conyza thyrsifera*, Wall. Cat. 3082; *Conyza lacera*, Roxb. Flor. Ind. III. p. 428; *Blumea cernua*, DC. V. p. 436; *Blumea hymenophylla*, DC. V. p. 440; *Conyza hymenophylla*, Wall. Cat. 3038; *Blumea Heyneana*, DC. V. p. 441; *Conyza Heyneana*, Wall. Cat. No. 3089; *Blumea glandulosa*, DC. V. p. 438; *Blumea subcapitata*, DC. V. p. 439; *Conyza subcapitata*, Wall. Cat. 3056; *Blumea musra*, DC. V. p. 435. (The synonyms are copied from Clarke.)

Annual, herbaceous, stem erect, ramous, particularly near the ground, one to three feet high (in favourable situations higher), pubescent or villous. Inferior leaves petioled, incised or lyrate, superior oval or elliptic, sessile, dentato-serrate, or sinuately incised, pubescent, pilose or densely villous on both sides, all pale or dull green. Panicle oblong or corymbose, compressed, generally lax. Involucral scales linear, acuminate, equalling the flowers, dry, and always of a light green colour. Receptacle glabrous. Achænia small, oblong, subquadrangular. Flowers dull yellow, appear at the end of the rainy season.

Several species of *Blumea* emit a more or less strong camphoraceous or terebinthaceous smell, that of the typical form of *B. holosericea* being sweet,—“its aroma fills the air when its soft white leaves are trodden under foot.” But the species above described, *B. runcinata* and *B. lacera*, are odourless: hence the assertion of Dr. Roxburgh that *B. lacera* smells of turpentine appears to be incorrect. Mr. Graham, the author of the *Cat. of Bombay Plants*, in a note to the description of the plant in question, alludes to this opinion, but, as he himself nowhere confirms it, it may be presumed that he also dissents from it.

Blumea Wightiana, DC. V. p. 435 ; Wight's *Contrib.* p. 14 ; Drury, *Hand-book*, II. p. 31 ; Clarke, *Comp. Ind.* p. 74 ; *Conyza Wightiana*, Wall. *Cat.* 3093 ; *Conyza paniculata*, Wall. *Cat.* 3090 ; *Blum. phyllostachya*, DC. V. p. 438 ; *Bl. parvifolia*, DC. V. p. 437 ; *Conyza parvifolia*, Wall. *Cat.* 3004 ; *Blum. tricophora*, DC. V. p. 436.

Stem erect, herbaceous, one to three feet high, striated, softly pilose, sometimes covered with clavate glands. Leaves petioled, elliptic, lanceolate or oblong, cuneate, obtusely and unequally toothed, superior elliptic or oval, oblong, sessile, all more or less softly pilose. Heads of flowers numerous, small, laxly paniculate, or corymbosely paniculate, generally short-pedicelled or sub-fasciculate. External involucreal scales villous and ciliato-pilose, internal ciliato-pilose. Receptacle glabrous. Achæmium small, oblong, almost round. Florets of pale purpureo-lilac colour.

Common in Bombay, and flowers during the cold season—November, December, and January. Smells of camphor.

Blumea oxyodonta, DC. V. p. 444 ; Wight's *Contrib.* p. 15 ; Drury, *Hand-book*, II. p. 36 ; Clark, *Comp. Ind.* p. 85 ; *Conyza oxyodonta*, Wall. *Cat.* 3023.

Herbaceous, decumbent or prostrate, ramous from the base, pubescent or cinero-pilose, covered with white silky hairs. Leaves sharply and thickly serrate, below more silky-villous, lower ones obovate, petiolate, upper ones elliptic, sessile or subsessile. Heads of flowers few, scattered, corymbose at the apex of the branches, sessile or shortly pedicelled. External involucreal scales villous, internal ciliato-pubescent. Receptacle glabrous. Achæmium oblong eight to ten ribbed. Florets yellow.

Is common in Bombay, growing especially along the roadsides and in the crevices of old walls. Flowers in the cold season, and smells like *cumin seeds*.

Blumea hieracifolia, DC. V. p. 442 ; Wight's *Icones*, t. 1099 ; Spr. *Syst.* III. p. 814 ; Clarke, *Comp. Ind.* p. 82 ; Drury, *Hand-book*, II. p. 84 ; *Conyza communis*, Wall. *Cat.* 3018 ; *Blumea Hamiltonii*, DC. V. p. 439 ; *Gnaphalium Hamiltonii*, Wall. *Cat.* 2938.

An erect, herbaceous, almost simple annual, one to three feet high, villous or tomentose. Leaves oblong, irregularly and rather sharply toothed ; the lowest elliptic or nearly obovate, two to three inches long and petioled ; the superior sessile, obovato-oblong, and narrowed at the base, the under side clothed with white or fuscous silky hairs, the upper side less villous, hardly white, scabrous, or almost glabrous.

Flower-heads about four lines long, mostly sessile and clustered, the lower clusters distant, the upper ones forming a terminal leafy spike, or (seldom) branching into an oblong terminal panicle. Involucre of purplish colour; external scales tomentose, or densely villous. Flowers yellow. Receptacle glabrous.

Bombay.

Some of the species of this genus vary very much, the real limits of the more distinct forms being very often difficult to establish. The authors of *Genera Plantarum* observe that 110 species have been enumerated by botanists, but that they must be reduced to 60, the rest being considered as varieties.

The species above described do not vary, but there are others in this island which change their form so much that it is difficult to identify them. See the specimens on the table, which probably belong to *B. amplectens* and *B. hieracifolia*.

Lagera aurita, Bth.; Clarke, *Comp. Ind.* p. 92; *Blumea aurita*, DC. V. p. 449; Wight's *Contrib.* p. 16; Drury, *Hand-book*, II. p. 37; *Conyza aurita*, Roxb. *Flor. Ind.* III. p. 428; Wall. *Cat.* 3069.

Annual, herbaceous, stem erect one to three feet high, very ramous, round, covered with glutinous or viscid down. Leaves elliptic, incispinnatifid at the base, sessile; the lowermost lobes auriculiform more or less decurrent, dentate serrate, softly villous, and generally viscid on both sides; the size very various. Heads of flowers subpanicled, scattered, subsolitary. Flowers rose-coloured or whitish. Involucral scales lanceolate, acuminate, outer ones hirsute or villous at the back, inner ones somewhat scarious, ciliato-pilose, a little longer than the disk. Receptacle glabrous. Achæmium pilose, cylindric, eight to ten ribbed.

Common in Bombay. Flowers in the cold season.

Dr. Roxburgh observes that this plant also smells strongly of turpentine, and that the smell is far from being disagreeable. To my sense the smell approaches more nearly that of a very ripe guava.

Emilia sonchifolia, DC. V. p. 302; Clarke, *Comp. Ind.* p. 174; Drury, II. p. 70; *Cacalia sonchifolia*, Wall. *Cat.* 3144; Roxb. *Flor. Ind.* III. p. 413; *Cac. glabra*, Heyne in Wall. *Cat.* 3145; *Cac. mucronata*, Heyne in Wall. *Cat.* 3161; *Gynura ecalyculata*, DC. VI. p. 298; *Emilia sagittata*, DC. VI. p. 302; *Emil. scabra*, DC. VI. p. 303; Wight's *Icones*, t. 1128; *Emilia sonchifolia, sagittata, et flaccida*, Mig. *Flor. Ind.* II. pp. 101, 102.

Sparingly puberous, glabrous, or scabrous, subglaucous. Stem erect or diffuse, variously ramous. Lowest leaves petioled, lyrate, or

obovate, dentate or entire; cauline ones sagittate, auricled, more or less stem-clasping. Flowers bright purple, red, or pale red. Involucre cylindrical, nearly equalling the florets. Achæmium narrow oblong, five-ribbed.

Common. Flowering all the year round. This is a very variable plant in respect to both stem and leaves. Hence Mr. Clarke has described as varieties several forms which are mentioned by botanists as distinct species, viz. *Cacalia sonchifolia*, *Cacalia glabra*, *Cacalia mucronata*, *Emilia sagittata*, and *Emil. scabra*.

The authors of *Bombay Flora*, in the Supplement which describes the exotic plants only, mention a plant named *Emilia sagittata*. If they mean the plant above described, they are certainly mistaken in their belief that it is not indigenous, as it is not only common in Bombay, but is found everywhere in India in a wild state.

Spilanthes Acmella, var. *oleracea*, DC. V. p. 624; Roxb. *Flor. Ind.* III. p. 410; Clarke, *Comp. Ind.* p. 138.

Stem ascending, repent at the base, hirsutulous at the apex. Leaves dark green, opposite, petioled, ovate, obtuse, serrated or crenated, nearly smooth, ciliated at the apex. Peduncles thrice the length of the leaves or longer. Flowers yellow. Heads conical, button-like with dark brown central spot.

The original habitat of this plant, like that of long-cultivated plants, is not well ascertained. DC. states that it is a native of tropical America, Para, Brazil, &c., Dr. Roxburgh of Silhet, and Dr. Wight of Coimbatore, "where in cocoanut plantations it is not unfrequent, showing that it is truly a native of India." Clarke (*Comp. Ind.*) thinks that it is a cultivated variety of *Spil. Acmella*. He says, "*Achænia fere spilanthis acmellæ, sed planta evolutior, foliis majoribus, succulentis. Pedunculi sub-solitarii.*"

It is said to be cultivated in gardens in the Dakhan and at Calcutta as a pot-herb: Graham's *Catal. of Bombay Plants*, p. 99, and Roxb. *Flor. Ind.* III. p. 410.

Like several other species of *Spilanthes*, the whole of this plant, but especially the involucre and receptacle, have a warm aromatic taste, similar to that of the root of the pellitory of Spain, or Indian fever-few, and, like it, it acts as a powerful stimulant to the salivary glands. And in fact it was supposed by many, even by a former Professor of Botany in the Grant Medical College, that *Spil. oleracea* was identical with Indian fever-few, and that the *akalkûrá* of the bazars was the root of this plant.

Tricholepis amplexicaulis, nov. sp. *Tr. radicans*, DC. VI. p. 564 *partim*; *Tr.* sp. 10 Hooker and Th. in *Herb.*; *Carduus radicans*, Roxb. *Flor. Ind.* III. p. 408; Clarke, *Comp. Ind.* p. 240; Drury, *Hand-book*, II. p. 84.

Stem erect with numerous ascending branches corymbosely disposed, or scarcely any stem, but in rich soil numerous stout branches spreading all round to a considerable extent, glabrous, or minutely scabrous, of a reddish colour; young shoots angular. Leaves alternate, oblong, three to five inches long, sessile, dilated at the base, stem-clasping, punctate, glabrous, serrate, dentate, having the margins and nerves somewhat scabrous, the apices of serratures ending in short, soft spines, or awns. Capitula subsolitary on the top of the small branches, ovate, of middling size, ebracteate, more or less lanato-villous. Involucral scales lanceolate, linear acuminate, long-subulate. Bristles of the receptacle setous, two to three times longer than the achæmium. Pappus obsolete or consists of a few bristles. Achæmium oblong, smooth. Flowers of a pink colour (or of a bright lilac, Roxb.).

Mysore and Canara—Law; Malabar and the Konkan—Stocks.

My specimens are from the Worlee rice-fields and Kambâla Hill.

Of the eleven Compositæ above enumerated nine are found growing in the island of Bombay. Further researches, extended to other districts of this Presidency, may lead to the discovery of more species of this order. Besides the species of *Blumea* which, as stated above, are not identified, I have seen a plant growing in Punâ, and flowering towards the end of September, which on cursory examination I thought to be *Eupatorium nodiflorum*. A second was found at Malabar Hill, but unfortunately it was not examined in the fresh state. A third was met with in Parel opposite the Gas Works, which also remains unidentified. Its characters are those of *Wedelia*, except the pappus, which consists of several bristles. I am disposed to place it between *Wedelia urticifolia* and *W. spilanthoides*.*

CAMPANULACEÆ.

Sphenoclea Pongatium, DC. VII. p. 548; *Sph. zeylanica*, Roxb. *Flor. Ind.* I. p. 507; *Pongatium indicum*, Lam.; *Rapania herbac.* Lour.;

* This plant was given to me for identification by my friends Dr. Sakhârâm Arjun and Mr. Nasarvânji Mervânji Khân Sâheb. Both these gentlemen are diligent students of botany, and both, especially the latter, who was educated by missionaries at Belgaum, possess considerable knowledge of the plants growing in Bombay.

Gaertnera Pongati, Retz, *Obs.* VI. p. 24 ; Wight's *Illust.* II. t. 138 ; Rheede, *Hort. Mal.* II. t. 24.

Root fibrous, annual. Stem erect, round, ramous, smooth, glossy or glabrous, piped. Branches alternate ascending. Leaves alternate, short-petioled, exstipulate, lanceolate, entire, smooth, from two to three inches long and half an inch broad. Spike terminal or leaf-opposed, peduncled, cylindric. Bracts three or three-partite, one below and one on each side under the flower. Flowers small, white. They appear in September.

Common all over India. My specimens are from the Flats, where the plant appears in the rainy season on both sides of Haines Road.

CONVOLVULACEÆ.

Cuscuta reflexa, DC. IX. p. 454 ; Roxb. *Flor. Ind.* I. p. 447 ; Drury, *Hand-book*, II. p. 322 ; *Cuscuta verrucosa*, Sweet, *British Flor. Gard.* t. 6 ; Roxb. *Cor. Plant.* II. t. 104 ; Hook. *Exot. Flor.* t. 150.

Stem filiform, succulent, twining, very ramous, leafless, smooth, yellow. Flowers white, loosely racemose, racemes numerous ; each flower short-pedicelled. Calyx five-sepalled ; sepals acutish, ovate-oblong, permanent. Corolla tubular ; lobes minute acute reflexed. Anthers subsessile at the throat of the corolla, appearing half above the throat of the tube. Scales fimbriated, inserted at the bottom of the corolla. Styles short. Stigmas two, large, pointed. Capsule baccate.

All over India. This plant is parasitic, appearing on any bush or tree.

Cuscuta chinensis, DC. IX. p. 457 ; Drury, *Hand-book*, II. p. 322 ; *Cuscuta sulcata*, Roxb. *Flor. Ind.* I. p. 447 ; Wight's *Icones*, t. 1373.

Stem filiform, very slender yellow. Fascicles of flowers lateral, sometimes glomerate, sometimes loosely paniced, few-flowered, each flower sessile or subsessile, minute white. Calyx five-lobed, becoming fleshy and deeply ribbed with from six to ten ribs. Corolla campanulate, five-lobed, lobes oval obtuse, reflexed ; scales minute penicillate, below the insertion of the filaments. Anthers five. Styles two. Capsule two-celled ; seeds solitary in each cell.

This plant is found everywhere in India, and appears adhering to *Amaranthus oleraceus* and some other small plants. Both these species of *Cuscuta* bear a considerable resemblance to *Cassytha filiformis*, for which they are apt to be mistaken.

SOLANACEÆ.

Solanum nigrum, Linn. *Sp. Pl.* p. 266 ; DC. XIII. pt. I. pp. 45-59 ; R. Brown, *Prod.* p. 445 ; *Sol. rubrum*, Roxb. *Flor. Ind.* II. p. 246 ; *Sol.* DC. XIII. pt. I. p. 57 ; Wight's *Icon.* t. 344 ; Rheede, *Hort. Mal.* t. 73 ; *Sol. incertum et Sol.* Roxb. ; Drury, *Hand-book*, II. p. 344 ; *Sol. Morellæ veræ*, DC. l. c.

An erect annual or biennial, angled with spreading or diffuse branches, one to three feet high, glabrous, or pubescent with simple hairs, without prickles, but the angles of the stem sometimes raised and smooth, or rough with prominent tubercles. Leaves petiolate, ovate oblong, attenuated at both ends, one to three inches long, entire or repandly toothed. Flowers small and white, in little cymes contracted into umbels, on a common peduncle from very short to nearly an inch long. Calyx five-toothed or lobed to the middle. Corolla deeply lobed, three to four lines in diameter. Anthers very obtuse and short, opening in terminal slits often, at length continued down the sides. Berry small, globular, usually nearly black, but sometimes green, yellow, or dingy red.

This species is a common weed in India, and in almost all tropical and temperate parts of the world. Mr. Benthams says that the berries are frequently eaten in Australia. They vary there in colour as in Europe and Asia, being black, yellow, or red.

Solanum sanctum, Linn. ; Benth. *Flor. Hongk.* p. 243 ; *S. Cumingii*, *S. schabrunnense*, *S. hierochuntinum*, and some others in DC. XIII. pars I. pp. 363, 365, 369, &c.

Stem shrubby. Branches greyish (sometimes the young ones greenish or purpurescent) and covered with soft stellate tomentum. Prickles rare, straight or sub-straight, not recurved, conic, dilated at the base, glabrous, yellowish grey. Leaves petioled, ovate-elliptic, sinuate-repand, unequal at the base, sometimes truncated, sometimes acute, pilose, greenish or cinereous above, stellate-tomentose or ochraceo-hoary below, sparingly aculeate at the nerves. Racemes sub-cymose. Peduncles, pedicels, and calyx covered with stellate-tomentum. Flowers white ; appear in the month of September.

It resembles *Solanum indicum*, but differs from it in the yellow tomentum on the under surface of the leaves, by the grey colour of the branches, smaller number of prickles, and by the white colour of its flowers.

Mr. Benthams says it is "a common roadside weed over a great part of India, Western Asia, and North-Eastern Africa." It appears to be rare in Bombay. My specimens are from Ganesh Khind, Puṇā.

VERBENACEÆ.

Avicennia officinalis, Linn. ; DC. XI. p. 100 ; Drury, *Hand-book*, II. p. 13 ; *A. resinifera*, Forst. ; *A. tomentosa*, R. Br. *Prod.* p. 518 ; Roxb. *Flor. Ind.* III. p. 38 ; Wight's *Icones*, t. 1481-2 ; Wall. *Plant. As. Rar.* III. t. 271 ; *Oepeta*, Rheede, *Hort. Mal.* IV. t. 45 ; *Mangium album*, Rumph. *Amb.* III. t. 76 ; *A. alba*, Blume ; *Sceura maritima*, Forst.

A plant varying in size from a shrub to a high tree, the branches and inflorescence white or silvery with a very close tomentum, more silky on the flower. Leaves coriaceous, approximate, spreading, entire, opposite, usually lanceolate or ovate-lanceolate, two to four inches long, acute and contracted into a petiole, but varying to elliptical or obovate and very obtuse, shining above, and white, silvery, or sometimes yellowish below, being covered with minute, densely adpressed scales or tomentum ; rib prominent, nerves very minute, forming irregular arches by anastomosing amongst themselves freely at the margin. Cymes contracted into small heads on rigid obsoletely quadrangular peduncles, which are often two together in the upper axils, or several in a small terminal leafy thyrsus. Bracts opposite, linear oblong, spreading, coriaceous, shorter than the sepals. Calyx ovate, coriaceous, divided to the base into five distinct orbicular, or broadly ovate, concave, hirsute, ciliate segments or sepals. Corolla yellow or white, thick, campanulate, tube broad, shorter than the sepals ; limb divided into four spreading segments ; lobes ovate, rather longer than the tube, the upper larger than the others. Ovary ovate, densely villous, one-celled with four ovules, oblong cuneate, collaterally suspended from a central axis which has four angles. Style a little longer than the tube, cylindric, hairy, stigma bifid. Capsule obliquely ovate, compressed, densely villous, the pericarp opening in two valves ; seed solitary, erect.

It is a common sea-coast plant of Asia, Africa, America, and Australia. My specimens are from Mahim, and Worlee Vellard, where it grows abundantly, and flowers in March, April, and May.

POLYGONACEÆ.

Rumex Wallichii, DC. XIV. p. 48 ; Drury, *Hand-book*, III. p. 49 ; *Rumex Wallichianus*, Meisn. in Wall. *Pl. As. Rar.* III. p. 64 ; *Rumex acutus*, Roxb. II. p. 209 ; *Rum. Roxburghii*, Wall. *Cat.* 1734 ; *Rum. comosus*, Hamilt. MSS. (now Forsk.).

Root annual, slender, externally of a pale yellow or reddish colour. Stem thick, flexuose, divaricately ramous, generally furrowed, from one to three feet high. Leaves acute, alternate, all petiolate, radical ones

on long petioles, oblong, subundulate, subcordate, upper ones flat, narrowed at both ends, uppermost ones linear, spreading, all from one to twelve inches long. Panicle simple. Verticils supported by a leaf, dense-flowered, upper ones confluent. Pedicels smaller than the small fructiferous calyx, turbinate thickened at the apex; valves ovate, lanceolate, acuminate, acute, all equally calliferous.

The specimens on the table are from Bassein, where it flowers in January. It grows also in Bengal, Silhet, and Oude.

Rumex dentatus, DC. XIV. p. 56; Camp. *Mon. Rum.* pp. 64 and 81; Wall. *Pl. As. Rar.* III. p. 64; Schult. *Fil. Syst.* 7, p. 1395; Drury, *Hand-book*, III. p. 49.

An erect glabrous, annual plant of one or one and a half feet, simple or with small slender branches. Radical leaves on long petioles, sometimes thirteen to fourteen inches long and nearly two inches broad, subobtusely, cordate, slightly narrowed above the base, thus appearing to be panduriform, undulate; the upper or cauline leaves smaller, lanceolate, oblong; all glabrous. Clusters numerous, remote, many-flowered, forming long simple or slightly branched racemes, all supported by a leaf; pedicels nearly equalling the fructiferous calyx; valves ovate lanceolate, acuminate, or acute, coarsely calliferous, one to three toothed on each side, or here and there unarmed teeth subulate, straight nearly equalling the length of the valves.

Kumaon, Kassia, and the Indian Peninsula. It is said also to grow in Egypt. My specimens are from Sewree.

EUPHORBIACEÆ.

Euphorbia Rothiana, Spreng. *Syst. Veget.* III. p. 796; DC. XV. p. 156; Drury, *Hand-book*, III. p. 121; *Euph. glauca*, Roxb. *Flor. Ind.* II. p. 473; *Euph. læta*, Roth, *Pl. Ind.* p. 230.

Annual, glabrous, glaucescent. Stem erect, from half to one foot high, striated, branched above, simple below. Branches alternate, superior floriferous. Leaves alternate, subsessile, linear, one to one and a half inches long and one and a half lines to two lines broad, acutish, scarcely attenuated at the base; of the umbel short, lanceolate, floral ones ovate-triangular, often sinuately trilobed, broad. Umbel trifid, radii dichotomously divided. Involucre campanulate, lobes oblong, denticulately torn; glands transversely broader, often irregularly pectinately toothed, between the short broad horns. Flowers yellowish-white, filaments hairy. Capsule ovate-depressed, three-furrowed or smooth, minutely hairy: seeds lavender-coloured, ovate.

Its habitat as given by Drury is the Konkan, Bombay, and Bundelkand. My specimens are from Mount Road and the Chinchpugli Hill.

It flowers in the cold season. This plant was collected and shortly characterized under the name of *Euph. læta* by Mr. Heyne, and was minutely described in 1821 by Mr. Roth. Subsequently (1826) Sprenger (in *Linn. System. Veget.*) described it under the above name, viz. *Euph. Rothiana*. Messrs. Dalzell and Gibson describe under the same name a different species, viz. *Euph. oreophila* (Mig. *Anal. Bot.* III. p. 17), var. *Wightiana*, figured in Wight's *Icones*, t. 1864.

URTICACEÆ.

Conocephalus naucleiflorus, Lindl. *Bot. Reg.* 14, t. 1203; Drury, *Hand-book*, III. p. 205; *Urtica naucleiflora*, Roxb. *Flor. Ind.* III. p. 593; Blume, *Pl. Jav. Rar.* I. t. 12.

Dioecious, shrubby, twining. Leaves alternate, cordate, entire. Glomerules globular, compact; male ones paniced; flowers yellowish, fragrant.

Chittagong, Silhet. Flowering nearly all the year. The specimen on the table is a branch of a male plant found growing in a private garden at Mazagon. I have not seen a female one as yet. This is mentioned here to ascertain from the Members whether they have found it in a wild state in this Presidency.

AMARYLLIDACEÆ.

Crinum brachyneme, Herbert, *Amaryllid.* p. 242; Herb. in *Bot. Regist. MSS.* p. 36; Hunt. *Enum.* vol. V. p. 581; *Curtis's Magazine*, t. 5937.

Bulb as large as the fist, nearly globose, crown short, conic, straw-coloured. Leaves produced long after the flowers, erect, then recurved $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 feet long, 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, linear oblong, or very broadly strap-shaped, obtuse, concave, not furrowed, keeled, or margined, bright green, quite glabrous and smooth. Scape 8 to 12 inches high, hardly compressed; 15 to 20 flowered. Spathes green, reddish at the tip; bracts subulate or filiform. Flowers subsessile, drooping, pure white, fragrant. Ovary half an inch long, slender. Perianth tube 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, curved, slender, white; limb $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches in diameter; segments spreading, but not widely, equal, elliptic-oblong, apiculate $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch broad. Stamens very short, exerted; anthers linear, yellow, $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch long, twice as long as the subulate, white filaments. Style very slender, included stigma shortly three-lobed

The above description is taken from *Curtis's Botanical Magazine*, given by Dr. Hooker. This learned botanist remarks: "This plant is a native of Bombay, whence bulbs were sent to the Royal Gardens, in 1870, by Mr. Woodrow, late of Kew, now of the Botanic Gardens, Poona, which flowered in May of the present year (December 1871). It is remarkable that so fine and sweet-scented a plant, from so explored a country, should not have found a place either in Roxburgh's *Flora Indica*, or in Gibson and Dalzell's *Bombay Flora*, and it shows how much still remains to be done in the long-hunted field of British India."

The plants which I have described above confirm the latter part of Dr. Hooker's remarks; with the exception of four or five, all of them grow in this island, and almost all were found within the last five months. Very likely further investigations, made here and in other parts of the Bombay Presidency, may lead to the discovery of many more species undescribed in Gibson and Dalzell's *Bombay Flora*."

Besides the omissions above alluded to, there are others of equal moment. With a few exceptions, no mention is made in the *Bombay Flora* of the various forms (varieties) assumed by the plants therein described. This has caused confusion, and has led to more varieties being described (especially by those who have not a large herbarium and a good library at command) as new species.

The species of *Sida* and *Urena*, for example, are very variable; but no mention is made of this fact.

Besides these omissions, there are some oversights and mistakes which must be corrected. I will adduce to-day one or two examples. Speaking of *Damia extensa*, the authors of *Bombay Flora* state that it flowers in the month of January. This is not the case with the plant growing in Bombay and Punâ, where it begins to flower towards the end of August, and is in fruit at the end of September. Again, they describe the flowers of *Andrographis paniculata* to be of a rose colour, whereas they are always white; but those of a species of an allied genus, *Peristrophe bicalyculata*, are of a rose colour. They also state that "they have not seen *Aleurites trilobata* either flourish or produce fruit to the north of Belgaum," whereas there is a plant in Colaba and another in the yard of the Bombay Arsenal both of which flower freely and also produce fruit.*

* *Quisqualis indica* also produces fruit in some places in Bombay; though this fact is also denied by some writers.

Finally, I beg to allude to one more defect, which the authors of *Bombay Flora* perhaps could not avoid, nor is it of great moment to a practical botanist, but would nevertheless puzzle a beginner; for example, in the description of *Madacarpus Belgaumensis* both the name and habitat of the plant as given would lead one to suppose that it grows only at Belgaum, whereas it is found abundantly at Lânoli, Khandâla, and also in Malabar.

I beg now to be permitted to make a few observations on a point which, though not immediately connected with the subject of this paper, was incidentally alluded to before. I refer to the want of a good herbarium in this city, which is much felt by those who devote themselves to the study of botany: for without such an aid real and satisfactory progress is an impossibility. There is scarcely a city in Europe without a good collection of dry plants. Here, however, the community is so completely absorbed in commercial pursuits that it appears to have forgotten that a good herbarium is one of the great aids to commerce.

We find in the Victoria and Albert Museum of this city numerous useful articles, such as various kinds of wood, gums, resins, grain, &c., but many of them are neither understood nor utilized, simply because they are not illustrated by an economic herbarium indicating the tree or plant from which they are derived.

Not wishing to take up the time of the Society with further observations, I will conclude with an extract from a letter I addressed to the *Times of India*, and which was published in that paper, some three years ago:—

"From the want of a practical establishment such as above mentioned (viz. a good herbarium), even accomplished botanists are sometimes unable to determine accurately the genera and species of some plants, and are obliged to send these to England to be classified and named.

"The advantages of a well-arranged herbarium are so obvious that I need not dwell upon them, but I would wish to draw the attention of Government to the necessity that exists for its formation, and this could not, of course, be done unless considerable expense were incurred by them; but the late East India Company possessed a very extensive collection of plants from all parts of Asia, which has been removed to Kew Museum, and the authorities of this establishment have been exchanging their duplicates with the herbariums of Belgium, Germany, and other European countries, and I am sure Government could from

the same source obtain a good many specimens of plants ; and officers connected with the Forest Department, and the medical gentlemen of the Presidency, might be requested to collect and send specimens of all plants they may meet with, and the collection thus formed might be arranged into three classes :—one economical, illustrative of the various vegetable products stored in the Victoria Museum ; a general one comprising all the plants of India and other parts of the world ; and a special one for the use of students, who might be permitted to have access to it under the guidance and supervision of an accomplished botanist."

May I hope that the Society will take up the subject and strive to supply an oft-felt want ?

The letter just referred to attracted the attention of Mr. A. K. Nairne, then Collector of Thâñâ, who wrote to me to say that he had also found several plants which appeared to him not to have been described in Dalzell and Gibson's *Bombay Flora*. He also expressed a desire—a result of the want of a public herbarium—to compare his collection of dry plants with mine. Two days ago Mr. Nairne again wrote to me, in reply to a letter I had addressed him, thus :—

"I am much obliged to you for writing to me. I have none of my books here, and so cannot tell how many of the plants in your list I have found, but not many I think. I am only sure of *Viscum attenuatum* and *Solanum nigrum*.

"I believe I must have twenty or thirty which are not down in Dalzell and Gibson. I can only now remember the following :—

"*Cassia absus*.
Balanites ægyptiaca.
Boswellia glabra."

This shows that the field of exploration is far from being exhausted, which is a great inducement to the students of botany, who are desirous of making discoveries, to prosecute their researches with diligence.

The following lists, kindly forwarded to the Society by Mr. Nairne, are inserted here, as being germane to the subject of the foregoing paper, though in no way connected with it : they serve rather to show how

ample and accessible is the field mapped out for the student of botany by the eminent botanists whose services Dr. Lisboa has endeavoured to supplement :—

List of Trees, Shrubs, and Creepers, growing in a small Jungle close to Mándeava Bandar, at the mouth of the Nágoṭna River.

By A. K. NAIRNE, Esq., Bo.C.S.

Note.—The names given are those of Dalzell and Gibson.

I. TREES.

<i>Botanical.</i>	<i>Vernacular.</i>
Flacourtia sepiaria	‘ Âturan.’
Grewia tiliaefolia	‘ Dâman.’
Calophyllum inophyllum.....	‘ Undi.’
Odina Wodier	‘ Shimtî.’
Garuga pinnata	‘ Kânkad.’
Erythrina indica	‘ Pângârâ.’
Bauhinia racemosa	‘ Âptâ.’
Pongamia glabra	‘ Kâranj.’
Acacia procera.....	‘ Kinai.’
Terminalia bellerica.....	‘ Yehela.’
T. glabra	‘ Âin.’
Careya arborea.....	‘ Kumba.’
Ixora parviflora	‘ Kurât.’
Morinda tomentosa.....	‘ Âseti.’
Randia utiginosa	‘ Pendari.’
Mimusops hexandra	‘ Rânjan.’
Wrightia tinctoria	‘ Kura.’
Bassia latifolia.....	‘ Mowra.’
Diospyros exsculpta	‘ Tartara’ (or ‘ Timbor-ni’).
Calosanthos indica	‘ Taetu.’
Gmelina arborea	‘ Shewan.’
Briedelia montana	‘ Âsana.’
Epicarpus orientalis	‘ Karoti.’
Cowellia glomerata.....	‘ Umbar.’

Besides the above, there are Mango, Bhendi, Tamarind, Cashew-nut, Silk-cotton, Jâmbul, Bôr, Wud, Pipal, which are found everywhere and known to every one.

II. SHRUBS AND CREEPERS.

<i>Botanical.</i>	<i>Vernacular.</i>
<i>Cissampelos pareira.</i>	
<i>Cocculus villosus.</i>	
<i>Capparis horrida.</i>	
<i>C. sepiaria.</i>	
<i>Salacia prionides.</i>	
<i>Cissus repanda</i>	' Gendal.'
<i>Vitis latifolia.</i>	
<i>Celastrus paniculata</i>	' Pengi.'
<i>Zizyphus rugosa</i>	' Toran.'
<i>Abrus precatorius</i>	' Gunj.'
<i>Pueraria tuberosa.</i>	
<i>Dalbergia sympathetica.</i>	
<i>Acacia pinnata</i>	' Shembi.'
<i>Combretum ovalifolium.</i>	
<i>Getonia floribunda</i>	' Uksi.'
<i>Grislea tomentosa</i>	' Dhausi.'
<i>Viscum attenuatum.</i>	
<i>Loranthus loniceroides.</i>	
<i>Ixora coccinea</i>	' Bakora.'
<i>Hollarhena antidysenterica</i>	' Kura.'
<i>Carissa Caranda</i>	' Karanda.'
<i>Premna latifolia</i>	' Ghánori.'
<i>Vitex bicolor</i>	' Nirgund.'
<i>Cassytha filiformis.</i>	

Note.—*Vitis latifolia* and *Viscum attenuatum* not being in Dalzell and Gibson, Roxburgh's names are given.

ART. V.—*Christianity among the Mongols till their expulsion from China in 1368: comprising the Eastern Grand Kháns or Emperors, with the Western or Persian Kháns.* By E. REHATSEK.

[Read 7th July 1877.]

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

The Topa Tatars began to take a very conspicuous part in Chinese history as early as the 6th century of our era, when they invaded, occupied, and ruled the northern part of the Flowery Kingdom. In the twelfth century another Tatar tribe, the Turks, invaded the Celestial Empire, but afterwards turned to the West and became the founders of the Ottoman Empire several centuries later, although their banners had waved before the gates of Constantinople already in 924. The Curcheh or Niuchi Tatars had, on conquering the northern provinces of China, in imitation of the dynasties of that country, assumed the title 'Kin,' but their dominion was short, as they, who had at the end of the first quarter of the 12th century conquered the Liao dynasty, yielded in their turn to the Mongol Tatars, who having in 1194 been invited by the emperor Ning-Tsung to drive them out, indeed performed the task, but retained the conquest and constituted the Yuen dynasty, whose founder was Chenghiz Khan, although only his successor Ogotai completed the conquest, in 1234.

It is well known that the very name of the Mongols was unknown before the 13th century. The nation which only at that time assumed this name, and won by its sudden as well as forcible interference in the events of the world a lasting place in history, consisted previously of a number of various tribes, each with its own name and its own chief. Occasionally several of these tribes enlarged themselves by subduing their neighbours, thus constituting nations with special names, the chiefs of which assumed higher titles, and not seldom arrogated to themselves autocratic powers. Such nomadic kingdoms, Mongolian in nationality and language, continued to exist for some time, and to aggrandize themselves by conquests. China especially was exposed to their inroads and warlike expeditions, and from this country they not seldom tore off considerable districts and founded small dynasties, all of which Chenghiz subjugated permanently and fused into one empire, or rather collection of empires, because the Mongol dominions occupied the vast extent of 80 degrees of latitude, beginning from

the sixth on the south, and as many of longitude, counting from the easternmost extremity of Corea to Aleppo, near the Mediterranean. The numerous countries comprised within the limits just mentioned were neither long nor closely nor firmly connected with any of the Grand Khans, who, following the example of Chenghiz, divided the various provinces of the empire among the princes of the blood as their tributaries, but selected China to be the seat of the empire and the usual residence of the Grand Khan.

Although, as above stated, the Mongols were not known in the world as one nation before the 13th century, the term *Mon-gu-su* occurs in Chinese historians of the 10th, and *Mung-gu*, the term still used, is to be met with in Chinese annals for the first time in 1135, or twenty-six years before the birth of Chenghiz Khan, the founder of a nation which consisted in his time of not more than 400,000 tents, but the name became so celebrated that it was applied to all the races of the interior of Asia who fought under the banners of the Mongols, and were proud to be identified with them.¹

In fact the Mongols themselves, in the memoirs they left with the Chinese, and from which the latter composed their history, have not pushed the antiquity of their royal dynasty further back than the time of Alung-Gon, mother of Badantsar the tenth ancestor of Chenghiz Khan²; and although even that is too high, Ssanang Ssetsen, one of his descendants, who brings down the history of the eastern Mongols to the year 1662, gives a number of fabulous ancestors to that lady, whose existence, or at any rate her giving birth to a few sons, without the intervention of any human agency, was miraculous, as will be seen further on.

As that tribe became not only the most prominent among the Tatars, but attained great celebrity in the whole world, it is not very surprising that ethnologists have fallen into the mistake of attributing the term 'Mongolian race' to all nations possessing almond-shaped eyes, brows

بواسطه دولت چنگیز خان و اروغ او چو ایشان مقل اند دیگر اقوام
اتراک مانند جلاير و تاتار و اویرات و انکوت و کرايت و ناهمان
تکفوت و غيرهم که هریک را اسمي معين و لتبي مخصوص بوده جمله
از روي تفاخر خود را مقل گویند

MS. of Rashid-al-din (fol. 22.) St.-Martin, *Mém. hist. et géogr. sur l'Arménie*, t. II., p. 281.

² Klaproth, *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*, p. 154: Visselou, *Bibl. Orient. D'Herbelot*, t. IV., p. 333.

drawn up towards the temples, flat faces, but prominent cheek-bones, scanty black and stiff hair, although it is at present well known that not merely all the nations of the eastern portions of Central Asia, but even the majority of American aborigines, possess the same characteristics.

In the history of peoples and states, religion everywhere manifests itself as the first motive power, as the soul, from which higher life and morality issue. The nobler the religion the more noble the development and civilization of a people, and the more barbarous and confused the religious ideas of a nation are the more savage must it be ; if it breaks forth from isolation and is successful against other nations, the terrible devastations and bloodshed it commits will be appalling. This was exactly the case with the Mongols, who had no firm principles of religion, unless the superstitions of Shamanism be considered as such ; they were poor, inured to hardships, and rendered ferocious by constant robberies among themselves, as well as by the ambition of their chiefs, who always either contended for supremacy amongst themselves, or carried fire and sword into adjacent countries. The original and chief seats of the Mongols were among the high mountains near the sources of the rivers Kerulan, Onon, and Tula, on the south-east of Lake Baikal. During one of his struggles for supremacy Temujin succeeded in overcoming his rivals, in uniting several tribes of Tatars, and gradually attracting to his banners great multitudes from the surrounding nations, eager for booty, which appeared to invite them to invade China. Temujin now proclaimed himself Emperor under the title of Chenghiz Khan, and in lieu of paying homage to the sovereign of Northern China invaded the country and carried his devastations as far as the Yellow River. Not content with his immense plunder, he turned to Central Asia, ravaged Transoxiana, Khovarezmi, and Persia, whilst on the one side his armies continued the war in China, and on the other ravaged the frontiers of India, marched to the Euphrates, to the north of the Black Sea, and even to the banks of the Upper Volga. After Chenghiz Khan had devastated Persia he returned to Tangut,³ which he depopulated, but himself died in this campaign ; he recommended, however, to his sons, on his deathbed, to achieve the conquest of the world. This injunction the descendants of Chen-

³ It corresponds in a general way to the modern province of Kan-su. See Yule's *Marco Polo*, I., p 184, who says, "The people were for the most part idolaters [Buddhists], but there are also some Nestorian Christians and some Saracens."

ghiz Khan obeyed so well that fifty years after his demise they were not only in possession of nearly the whole of Asia, but had penetrated into Europe. On their march the barbarians first conquered all the intervening countries by fire and sword, destroyed the empire of the Khalifs, and passing through Asia Minor reached the Black Sea, whence they entered Europe, where they cruelly devastated Hungary, Poland, and Russia.

This vast empire was by its founder, Chenghiz Khan, divided into four monarchies. The first, on which the other three depended, comprised China, Tibet, and Tartary as far as the Altai mountains; the countries to the west of these as far as the Oxus constituted the second; those north of the Caspian and the Black Sea the third; and Persia the fourth. The masters of these countries were vassals to the sovereign of the first monarchy, who resided in the city now called Peking. He was the Emperor and Grand Khan, from whom they received their investiture: hence the division of the Mongol sovereigns into Grand and Vassal, or into Eastern and Western Khans, which will be followed in this paper, suggests itself.

The Mongols were originally ferocious brigands who despised civilization and settled agricultural life, but, as at last good always prevails over evil, their views gradually changed when they firmly established their power in the countries they had subjugated. They lost by degrees not only their bloodthirsty character, their nationality and language, on account of the distance and the time which separated them from their own country, but amalgamated with the nations among whom they established themselves. Thus the descendants of Kubilai became Chinese and Buddhists, those of Hulagu Persians, of Chugutai and Juji Turks, who soon adopted Islam. Military subordination and external dangers chiefly contributed to the unity of the Mongol power when it was first established; as soon, however, as the chiefs of that unwieldy empire began to be influenced by various local interests, disunion resulted; the descendants of Chenghiz fought among themselves, and their annals became nothing more than a list of sanguinary contests. The establishment of various dynasties broke the power and unity of the Mongols as well as the progress of their civilization, which, after all, had sprung only from that of the subjugated nations engrafted on it, and which nourished it. The dynasty of Chenghiz was in 1368 expelled from China, and henceforth continued to reign only among the wandering tribes of Central Asia. From that time Christianity also ceased to exist among the Mongols, and even Buddh-

ism disappeared under the overwhelming influence of the ancient superstitions of Shamanism, which were again revived, whilst anarchy and convulsions had two years before the above-mentioned date ruined the Mongol dynasty of Persia.⁴

EARLY CHRISTIANITY TILL THE TIME OF CHENGHIZ.

In spite of the historical documents produced by Assemani, Abulfaraj, A'mru, Mosheim, &c., and even by Muhammadan authors, such as Rashid-al-din and Mirkhond, many have doubted whether Christianity had ever spread among the Mongols, and have asserted that all the narratives to that effect must simply be attributed to the indulgence which some Tatar princes had manifested towards Oriental Christians, who had been so much flattered thereby that they not only exaggerated it, but concocted fabulous accounts. On the other hand it cannot be denied that some pious fictions have altogether lost credit in modern times, and that even the popular belief of St. Thomas having been the apostle not only of India, but also of China, has of late been rudely shaken. Thus Dr. Burnell distinctly states that "Prof. Whitney and Dr. Haug, with many others, look upon the pretended apostolic labours of St. Thomas in India or China as a pious fiction," &c.⁵ According to the Breviary of the Malabar churches and their traditions, St. Thomas was the apostle of the Chinese; and in the former the following passage, translated into Latin from the Chaldean by Father Joannes Maria Campani, occurs:—"Per D. Thomam SINÆ et Æthiopes conversi sunt ad veritatem," but as this Breviary was composed in the 7th century, *i.e.* during the time of Jesubabus, the Patriarch of Adiabene, who governed the Nestorian Church from A.D. 650 till 660, the above statement could not possibly refer to the apostle himself, but rather to his successors and disciples. This is exactly what the opinion of Assemani also amounts to, who says, "*Cæterum nullus antiquus scriptor Latinus, Græcus, aut Syrus id de ipso S. Thoma affirmat, quod proinde ex mera Indorum et Malabarum assertionem aut recentiorum Nestorianorum testimonio, vel ex solis conjecturis, quæ ex Indiæ Sinæque vicinitate capiuntur, nemo prudens sibi facile obtrudi patietur.*"⁶ No trace whatever of the existence of Christianity in China can be disco-

⁴ See D'Ohsson, vol. I., p. vi.

⁵ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV., p. 182.

⁶ Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementina Vaticana*, t. III., p. II., p. dxviii.

vered earlier than the year 636, when Nestorians were preaching it there, as appears from the contents of the Chinese inscription of Singan-fu, to be given below in detail, and Joannes de Monte Corvino expressly says, in his letter dated Peking 1305, "Ad has siquidem terras nec aliquis Apostolus, nec Apostolorum discipulus, pervenit."

The case was different in Khorásán and in Ma-vera-al-nahr, *i.e.* Transoxiana, where it is certain from Syriac documents that not only Christian communities, but also bishops, existed; those of Merv and Tus are mentioned both by Mares and A'mru, Barsabas presiding A.D. 334, and Samuel in 430, over these episcopal sees. The patriarch Yaballaha conferred in 420 the rights of a metropolitan on the bishop of Merv, and besides his see there were many other bishoprics and Christian communities. Heria or Hara, the modern Herat, and the second capital of the province of Khorásán, was according to some authors, together with Samarkand, the chief city of Transoxiana, raised to a bishopric in 411 or 503, either by the patriarch Achæus or by Silas.⁷ The Syriac history of the Nestorians contains records concerning the metropolitans of Merv and Herat in Khorásán down to the year 1000. Thus, for instance, David was the metropolitan of Merv in 536, Theodosius in 540, Elias in 650, Joseph in 778, Joannes in 860, Joseph in 900, and Ebedjesus in 1000. Jonas was metropolitan of Herat in 820, and Abraham in 1000.

Before taking up the celebrated inscription of Singan-fu, it will be proper to observe that in China the Christians either homologized their habits, dress, usages and religion with the surrounding pagans, or were afraid of them, and did not care to show the contrast which Christianity displays to all other religions, and were confounded with Buddhists, although barbarian Bonzes, *i.e.* strangers from the West, are also more than once mentioned by Chinese historians, as will appear from the following passage quoted by Visdelou:—"In the ninth year of the emperor *Tai-sun*, who reigned under the title *Talii* (A.D. 774), *Pu-khun* the barbarian Bonze died. Having died, the emperor bestowed on him the greatest honours, and created him chief of a realm (of China) called *Su-kue*." This fact occurs in the classic annals, and

⁷ "Salibazacha qui anno 714 patriarchalem Nestorianorum dignitatem iniit, in Chorasana Metropolitanum Heria scu He.ath, in Mavaraalnahr Samarkandæ instituit, ut idem Sobensis scribit in hac verba [Syriac text]:—'Heria, et Samarkandæ et Sinarum metropolitæ creavit Salibazacha. Ajunt vero quidam, Achæum et Silam (hic anno 503, illo anno 111 vivebat) illos constituisse; sed ordine Sinensem antecedunt Metropolitanæ Heria et India, et Sinenses Samarkandensem.'—*Ibidem*, ccccxvi.

from it Bishop Visdelou⁸ infers that it is not astonishing to see the Bonze or Christian priest *Y-su*—who will be mentioned further on in the Sin-gan-fu inscription—endowed with the secular titles of Great Benefactor and Lieutenant of the Vice-Emperor *So-fan*; he believes the said *Pu-khun* to have been a Christian prelate, but the reasons adduced in support of his opinion do not appear to be very convincing; the following extract, however, given by him from the history of the *Thams* (*Than she ho chi* 42.11), is worth inserting in this place:—“*Than-vu-sun*, having attained empire [began to reign A.D. 861], prohibited the religion of the Bonzes, destroyed 4,600 of their temples, and from the number of male Bonzes *Ho-shan* and the female Bonzes *Ho-shan*, whose names were registered in catalogues, he reduced 265,000 free persons and 150,000 slaves to the lowest grade of the people. Of the lands possessed by them he confiscated some thousands of *khins* (a *khin* contains 24,000 geometrical square paces). He reduced also to the same condition more than 2,000 *Mu-hu-yao* (*i.e.* Bonzes or Priests) of *Ta-sin*.” Here Buddhists and Christians are meant; moreover from the last expression which occurs in the monumental inscription of Sin-gan-fu it appears that *Mu-hu-yao* stands for Ta-sinian, *i.e.* Christian priests. But that the extermination of Buddhism and Christianity was not intended appears from the passage with which the above piece terminates:—“The same Emperor commanded that in each of the great streets or boroughs of the Supreme Court (*i. e.* the city of *Thai-yun-fu*) and of the Eastern Court (*i.e.* *Ho-nan-fu*) two temples be allowed to subsist, each of them having 30 Bonzes; but in all the other temples of the empire he allowed not more than 20 Bonzes in each.”

The first of the two passages just quoted has been taken up by Colonel Yule⁹ after Pauthier, who was also a good Chinese scholar, and given in a somewhat altered form. The Colonel says, “It is reasonably supposed that this remarkable monument [of Sin-gan-fu], the idea of which was probably taken from a Buddhist custom, may have been buried about the year 845,¹⁰ published an edict, still extant, denouncing the increase of Buddhist monks, nuns, and convents, and ordering

⁸ In the *Bibl. Or. D'Herbelot*, t. IV., pp. 415 seq.

⁹ *Cathay*, vol. I., p. xc.

¹⁰ Note the difference of the years given by Visdelou and Yule. Gutzlaff, in his *Sketch of Chinese History*, vol. I., p. 103, makes Wan-tsung the 14th emperor of the Tang dynasty, and gives A.D. 827 as the beginning of his reign; his successor, Woo-tsung, the 15th emperor, began to reign A.D. 841.

the destruction of 4,600 great monasteries, the 260,000 inmates of which were to return to civil life; 40,000 minor monasteries scattered about the country were also to be demolished, the lands attaching to them to be resumed by the state, and 150,000 slaves belonging to the bonzes to be admitted to civil privileges and duties. The edict also directs that foreign bonzes who had come to China to make known the law prevailing in their own countries, whether that of Tathsin or Muhupa, amounting to some 3,000, should also return to secular life, and cease to corrupt the institutions of the Central Flowery Kingdom. Pauthier takes Mahapu for Ma'bar of Southern India, and thinks that offshoots of the St. Thomas Christians are meant. The opinion of Gaubil, quoted by Pauthier, that Mobeds or Guebres of Persia are meant, seems more probable. It will be remembered that Abu Zaid mentions among the foreigners slaughtered at Khan-fu in 878 *Magians* as well as Muhammadans, Christians, and Jews."

The first bishop of China was Olopen,¹¹ his Syriac name having been changed to this form to accommodate the pronunciation of the language of that country. It is not known whether he arrived in the country which he evangelized as a simple priest or as a bishop, but he is believed to have been the latter after the year 636, and his name occurs in the celebrated Sin-gan-fu inscription, the authenticity of which has been called in question. Here follow the names of more than a dozen authors who have discussed the inscription; those who were known to have been also Chinese scholars, and therefore able to understand the language as well as the various figures of speech embodied in the document, are marked by asterisks.

For authenticity.

D'Ohsson.

*Julien.

*Kircher.

Mosheim.

*Pauthier.

*Rémusat.

Rénan.^{11a}

*Renaudot.

*Visdelou.

For spuriousness.

Croze.

*Klaproth.

*Neumann.

Schmidt.

Voltaire.

¹¹ Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*, t. II., p. 1269.

^{11a} This great scholar says, on p. 290 of the 3rd edition of his *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques*, concerning the Sin-gan-fu inscription:—"Les objections graves qui ont rendu longtemps douteuse l'authenticité de ce document ont enfin disparu."

A reduced facsimile of a rubbing of the inscription by Dr. Lockhart occurs in Colonel Yule's *Marco Polo*,¹² and an abstract of the translation in his *Cathay*,¹³ which is so short that it precludes any possibility of forming clear ideas concerning it. As this famous document has long ago been published and copiously discussed, the only apology for inserting a complete and literal translation of it in this paper is its extremely interesting nature, and the comparative difficulty of getting access to it in works which are now scarce. "Sin-gan-fu has been recently visited by Mr. Williams, accompanied by Mr. Lees. He says that the palace of the Thang emperors is still to be seen; and he saw the celebrated Christian inscription, which stands in a ruined temple outside of the last gate of the city, and is still perfect, though all around is desolation."¹⁴ As the inscription contains also seventy Syriac names of missionaries in Chaldaic letters on the margin, some difference has arisen concerning the number of characters the document contains. The writer of this paper has calculated only the number of the Chinese characters, and found them to amount to 1736, which he afterwards observed that also Assemani¹⁵ had obtained. Colonel Yule counts 1789, and Kircher only 1018 characters.

The great aversion of the Chinese to everything foreign as barbarous, especially at the time the inscription was drawn up, may, in connection with the homologizing tendencies of the missionaries,—some of whom wear even in our times, in the interior of the country, the tail and the costume of the Chinese,—perhaps account for the extreme care with which strange names and ideas have been so much avoided in the document, that probably not even the most bigoted Chinese could find anything extraordinary in, and still less be shocked by, the inscription. This assimilation to Chinese ideas is carried to such lengths that on account of the praises bestowed in the document on various persons, and on the emperors, whose portraits were also set up with lamps and incense constantly burning before them, the church which contained the inscription must generally have been considered rather as one of the ancestral temples so common among the Chinese than a place of worship as opposed to the cult of elements and spirits, as the Christian religion is known to be. This is the conclusion which an impartial

¹² Vol. II., p. 14.

¹³ Vol. I., pp. xciv. seq.

¹⁴ Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. II., p. 14.

¹⁵ Tom. III., p. II., p. dxxxix.

study of the inscription would appear to lead to. It is here given according to the translation of Bishop Visdelou.¹⁶

Literal translation of the Sin-gan-fu monument.

"On the admirable¹⁷ religion, which flows and which progresses in the Middle Kingdom.¹⁸ Composed by *King-sing*,¹⁹ Bonze²⁰ of the temple of Ta-sin,²¹ and engraved on stone.

"Verily indeed! He who being always true, alone, the first of the first and without beginning, deeply wise, the last of the last,²² emphatically existent, holds the mystic axis, changes [non-existence into existence], and by his primary dignity confers excellency on all Saints; is he not the excellent body of our only threefold unity, the real lord without beginning, *Oloho*?²³

"He has formed a cross to determine the four parts [of the world]. He has melted the first-begotten wind and has produced two matters. The dark void has been changed, and heaven and earth have appeared uncovered. The sun and the moon have performed their revolutions, and the day and the night have been made. By his labour he has completed ten thousand [*i.e.* all] things; but by forming the first men he gratified them by intimate internal concord. He commanded them to watch over the security of a sea of conversions. [Their] Perfect and original nature was empty and not full. [Their] Simple and pure heart was originally without desires and without appetites. But after Sothan (Satan) had spread falsehoods, by applying his paint, he defiled the pure and the neat.

"He inserted the equality of greatness²⁴ into the middle of this truth, and took to pieces the obscure identity in the interior of that falsehood. Therefore 365 sects touching each other with their shoul-

¹⁶ *Bibl. Or. D'Herbelot*, t. IV., p. 375.

¹⁷ The Christian religion: *king-kiao* means literally 'brilliant, resplendent.'

¹⁸ China.

¹⁹ *King-sing* means 'admirable or Christian purity,' and may be a phonetic approach to the word 'Christian,' which may perhaps have been pronounced *ki-sin* by the Chinese, who possess no *r*.

²⁰ Priest.

²¹ *Ta* means 'great,' hence *Great Sin*.

²² Alpha and Omega.

²³ The Chinese possess no character for *e* or *ho*, hence they substitute in the word *Eloha* the letter *o* for the former and *ho* for the latter, whereby it becomes *Oloho*.

²⁴ This expression alludes to a heresy the nature of which it would be difficult to find out.

ders formed a chain ; they vied with each other in weaving nets of laws. Some indicated the creatures in order to depose the Venerable ; some evacuated existence to submerge both ; others sacrificed by praying in order to extort felicity ; others paraded good [actions ?] to deceive men. Examination and solicitude worked working. Affection for a good act being in slavery was captive. Always wavering they obtained nothing ; boiled turned to roasted. They augmented darkness ; they lost the way ; astray for a long time they returned not. Then our threefold unity bestowed its body on the admirably honourable *Mi-shi-ho*.²⁵

"Collecting himself, he concealed the true majesty ; he presented himself to men like a man. Heaven, joyous at his birth, published the felicitation. A woman [virgin] gave birth to the Holy One in *Ta-sin* ; an admirable constellation announced the happy [event ?].

"*Po-su*²⁶ contemplated his light to bring the tribute. He shaped the ancient laws from the discourses held by 24 Saints²⁷ ; he has by great instructions regulated families and kingdoms. He has, according to the pure spirit of the threefold unity, established a new religion, which does not expand itself in words. He has by the true faith imparted being to good usage. He has determined the measures of the eight limits ; he has converted the baked dust into real [loose dust ?]. He has opened the gate of the three ordinary ones²⁸ ; he has opened life and extinguished death. He has suspended the admirable sun to break the house of darkness. There the lies of the demons were entirely destroyed. He has by oars conducted the merciful Ark to ascend to the palace of light. Then the beings containing the intelligence were fully transported. This grand affair being completed, he ascended in full noon towards the true. Twenty-seven books of the

²⁵ To this passage Assemani makes the following remark :—"Hic Nestorianus auctor Christum Syriacæ *Messie* voce appellans, Nestorianum errorem prodit quum de incarnatione sic loquitur :—'Tunc una de divinis personis sanctissime Trinitatis dicta *Messias*, restringendo tegendoque majestatem suam, et se humane nature accommodando, homo facta est.'" He also gives another interpretation of the same passage as follows :—"Donec personarum trium una communicavit se ipsam clarissimo venerabilissimoque MIXIO (*Messie*) operiendo abscondendoque veram majestatem, simul homo prodit in sæculum."

²⁶ Persia, whence the Magi who adored our Lord in the manger are believed to have come.

²⁷ The 24 books of the Old Testament, as Oriental Christians count them.

²⁸ The three chief duties of man, namely, towards God, his neighbour, and himself.

Scriptures have been left.³⁰ He has extended the original conversion to let go the spring of intelligence. The law washes with water and wind³¹; it takes away the floating flowers and cleanses the whitened vacuum. The seal is a cross, which melts the four illustrated ones in order to unite them without hindrance. By striking a piece of wood³² it causes the voice of charity and goodness to resound. Worshipping [towards] the East it tends to the way of life and glory. It retains the hair, whereby it shows that it is engaged in external things.³³ It shaves the top, whereby it implies that it has internally no [evil] intention. It entertains no slaves; it accommodates itself in honours and abasement to men; it accumulates neither goods nor riches; assuredly it leaves them to us. Fasting is perfect when it subjugates the mind, or else solidity consists in tranquillity and attention. Adoring seven times³⁴ they praise; they are a great help to the living and the dead. On the seventh day they offer [the sacrifice] once, purify the heart and return to simplicity. Real and perpetual wisdom is excellent, and difficult to name. Its merit and its splendid usage shine brilliantly. It is perforce called the admirable religion; but the doctrine without the Saint expands not; the Saint without the doctrine does not become great. The doctrine and the Saint being in agreement (like a roll), the whole earth becomes adorned and brilliant.

"The emperor *Thai-sun*³⁴ has illustrated China; he has opened the revolution and governed men in a very saintly manner. A man of brilliant virtue, named *Olopen*,³⁵ was a native of the realm of *Ta-sin*. He observed the blue clouds and carried the real Scriptures; he paid attention to the rules of the winds in order to pass across what is difficult and perilous. In the ninth year of *Chin-kuan*³⁶ he arrived in *Chan-ngan*.³⁷ The emperor commanded *Tan-hiven-lin*, minister of the empire, to go at the head of a great procession to the

³⁰ The 27 books of which the New Testament consists.

³¹ This religion uses baptism by water and the Holy Spirit.

³² A plank suspended by strings and struck by a mallet, in use by Eastern Christians to call the people to divine worship,—the *Naks*, often mentioned by Muhammadan authors.

³³ Priests retain the hair around the head, but shave the top of it.

³⁴ They pray daily seven times.

³⁵ *Thai-sun-ven-huan-ti*, who founded a new dynasty, was proclaimed emperor A.D. 627.

³⁶ During his reign, *Olopen*, a man of great virtue, arrived from *Ta-sin*.

³⁷ The ninth year of *Chin-kuan* corresponds to A.D. 635.

³⁸ *Chan-ngan*, the imperial city, was afterwards called *Su-ngan-fu*.

western suburb, and meeting the newly arrived one to bring him to the palace. He translated the Scriptures in the Hall of the Books. The gate³⁸ which it is not permitted to enter listened to the doctrine and thoroughly understood the straight unity; he commanded³⁹ specially to publish and to deliver it. In the twelfth year of *Chien-kuan*,⁴⁰ in the 7th month, in autumn, he⁴¹ issued an edict in these terms:—‘Doctrine⁴² has no determined name, the Saint has no determined substance;⁴³ he establishes religions according to the countries, and passes all men in crowds into the Ark.⁴⁴ *Olopen*,⁴⁵ of the realm of *Ta-sin*,⁴⁶ and of great virtue, taking the scriptures and the images, has come to offer them to the Supreme Court. By examining the spirit of this religion [it was found that] it is mysterious, excellent, peaceable. By contemplating his venerable first-begotten he produces the perfect and the necessary. This discourse is void of importunate verbiage; reason pushes grandiloquence into oblivion; it leads things to a good issue. It is useful to men; it must be published over the whole earth. Let those who are in charge⁴⁷ without delay construct in the canton named *Ynien* of the imperial city a temple of the realm of *Ta-sin*, and cause 21 Bonzes to enter it.’

“The virtue of the venerable Cheu having been extinguished, the blue chariot passed to the West.⁴⁸ The sages of the great *Than*⁴⁹ having commenced to shine, the admirable wind blew in the East. He commanded those who were in charge to take a faithful portrait of the

³⁸ The court of the Emperor.

³⁹ The Emperor commanded.

⁴⁰ A.D. 638.

⁴¹ The Emperor.

⁴² Wisdom.

⁴³ The Saints have no fixed position.

⁴⁴ By this oxordium of his edict the emperor *Tai-sun* published to his subjects that he admits all religions; and he manifestly avows that the Saints, when they establish religions, have no certain ideas and no fixed model, but that they accommodate themselves to the genius and temper of the nations for whom they invent them; whence it would follow that all religions are good, each according to its manner and for the nation that follows it.

⁴⁵ Assemani makes it out that *Olopen* is *Jaballaha*, which is scarcely possible: t. III, pt. II, p. dxi.

⁴⁶ *Ta-sin* is Syria according to Assemani, t. III, pt. II, p. dxi, and the edict was published A.D. 639.

⁴⁷ Imperial officers.

⁴⁸ When the virtue of the venerable Cheu dynasty perished, *Lao-kiun* passed to the West.

⁴⁹ The *Than* dynasty.

Emperor, and to cause a similar one to be painted on the wall of the temple [*i.e.* Christian church]. The celestial beauty spreading out the brilliancy of the colours [made] the admirable gate resplendent and flowery. The holy vestiges caused happiness to rise, and perpetually imparted splendour to the regular worlds.⁵⁰

"According to the maps and annotations of the western region, and according to the histories and commentaries of the dynasties *Han* and *Wei*,⁵¹ the realm of *Ta-sin* embraces on the southern side the coral sea. On the north it is bounded by the mountains of precious things. On the side of the west it looks at the country of immortals, and at the forest of flowers. Towards the east it receives the perpetual wind and the feeble water. Its soil produces cloth which is washed in fire,⁵² perfume which recalls [the departed] soul, brilliant moonstones, and stones which shine in the night. There habitually neither murders nor thefts take place. There men live in joy and peace. There is no other law besides the admirable law. Nobody is created king unless he has the virtues of one. The limits of the country are ample and vast. The things which concern ornament abound there, shine there.

"*Kao-sun*,⁵³ the great Emperor, was able respectfully to follow his ancestors. By moistening [liberality ?] he coloured the true Venerable, and established admirable temples in all the provinces.⁵⁴ Again exalting *Olopen* he made him sovereign guardian of the realm of the great law. The law spread itself in the ten ways.⁵⁵ The realm was enriched by great happiness. The temples filled one hundred towns; the families were enriched by the admirable felicity.

"In the years of *Shin-li*⁵⁶ the children of *She*⁵⁷ used force and caused their mouth to spout in the Oriental [city] *Cheu*. At the end

⁵⁰ This monument of the holy emperor was favourable and propitious; it filled the world with perpetual splendour.

⁵¹ Historical books of the dynasties *Han* and *Wei*.

⁵² Asbestos.

⁵³ The emperor *Kao-sun* was the ninth child of the emperor *Thai-sun*. He succeeded his father A.D. 650.

⁵⁴ He illustrated by a new augmentation of light the religion of the venerable true God, and caused in all the provinces admirable temples to be built for the Christians.

⁵⁵ The emperor *Than-thai-sun* divided in the year 627 the Chinese empire into ten great provinces or ways, as he was pleased to name them.

⁵⁶ A.D. 698 or 699.

⁵⁷ Adherents of Fo, *i.e.* Buddhists.

of *Sien-thien*⁵⁸ the inferior literati rallied, defamed, despised, and calumniated strangely in the Occidental [city] *Hao*. There was *Lo-han*, chief of the Bonzes: *Kii-lie*, of great virtue; and *Kuei-siü* from *Kin-fan*, extremely illustrious Bonzes. They together took again up the mystic cable, and unanimously tied again the severed knot.

"*Hiuen-sun*,⁵⁹ an emperor of high wisdom, commanded *Nin-kue* and the other four kings to go personally to the roof of felicity, and to raise firmly the altar of the temple. The beam of the law, bent for some time, was lifted up anew. The stone of the doctrine, inclined for some time, was erected and again set up perpendicularly. In the beginning of *Thien-pao* he ordered *Kao-lü-sü*, great general of the armies, to carry the portraits of the five Saints⁶⁰ and, depositing them, to place them in the temple. He gave one hundred pieces of silk, and offered, taking part in the joy, the brilliant portraits. He was allowed to seize the moustaches of the dragon, although distant, and the bow and the sword.⁶¹ The horns of the sun spread light on the celestial visages of eight-tenths of a foot.

"In the third year [A.D. 744] there was a Bonze, *Kii-ho*, of the realm of *Ta-sin*, [who], observing the stars tended to conversion, [and] looking

⁵⁸ At the end of the reign of Hiuen-sun, who bore the title of *Sien-thien*, the literati of the lower orders greatly defamed the Christian religion in the year 712.

⁵⁹ He succeeded his father Jui-sun in 712.

⁶⁰ The five portraits which Hiuen-sun got painted on the walls of the church appear to have been those of his five predecessors, *Kao-tsu*, *Thai-sun*, *Kao-sun*, *Chun-sun*, and *Jui-sun*. Here we have the apotheosis not of one but of five pagans in a building purporting to have been a Christian church; it was in reality nothing else but a Chinese ancestral temple, to which also Christians had access.

⁶¹ As the writer of the inscription, who was a Christian, alludes to this Chinese superstition, in which he apparently believed, it may here be observed that the words about the moustaches of the dragon, the bow and the sword are introduced to recall to memory the fate of *Hoan-ti*, an ancient emperor of China, of whom many fables are narrated. Among others it is said that he acquired immortality, and that therefore a large dragon came down from heaven, which he mounted and by which he was carried off. Several men of the emperor's suite having taken hold of the moustaches of the dragon were indeed raised into the air, but he shook himself violently and they all fell to the ground, and with them also the bow and sword of *Hoan-ti*, which they picked up. They followed their master with tears and lamentations as he gradually disappeared in the sky from their sight; lastly, they raised in this place in honour of the emperor a cenotaph, in which they enclosed his bow and his sword. The sense of the above phrases is that these five emperors actually went to heaven in the same manner as the emperor *Hoan-ti*, but that, however remote they may be, they had left on earth so many records of their memory that it would never perish, and would always be present to posterity. All this, however, is not Christian.

towards the sun, [came] to salute the Honourable.⁶² The Honourable commanded the Bonze *Lo-han*, the Bonze *Pu-lun* and others, seven in all, to work the *Kii-ho* of great virtue, to work at merit and virtue in the palace *Hin-kin*.⁶³ Then heaven [i. e. the emperor] wrote on the tablet of the temple [of the church]. The front bore the writing of the dragon. The precious ornaments shone brilliantly. The clouds of vermilion shone with splendour. The clearly-seeing tablet dilated the vacuum; rising and oppressing it touched the sun. The gracious gifts are compared to the extreme height of the southern mountain; the inundating benefits equal the depth of the Eastern Sea. Wisdom proves everything; what it proves may be named. The Saint does everything⁶⁴; what he does may be published.

"The emperor *Su-tsun*, adorned, illustrious, gravely raised admirable temples⁶⁵ in *Lin-u* and in other cities, five in all. The first-begotten good had reinforcement, and the happy fortunate was opened. A great felicitation appeared and the august establishment was confirmed.

"The emperor *Tai-sun*, civil and military, by displaying extended the holy revolution. As a servitor he served tranquillity. On the descent of the hour of the Nativity⁶⁶ he always liberally gave celestial perfume in order to cause the perfect merit to be remembered. He distributed imperial victuals in order to illustrate the admirable multitudes. Certainly heaven [i. e. the emperor] placed into usage a fine utility. Therefore it can produce amply. The Saint makes use of the consubstantiated first-begotten; therefore he is able to regulate and to elevate.

"Our emperor,⁶⁷ holy, divine, civil, and warlike, established mediocrity; he displayed an eightfold form of government in order to remove the obscure and promote the clear. He smoothed nine kinds, in order certainly to renovate the admirable command. By conversion he penetrates the mysterious reason. By praying he has not a blushing heart.

⁶² The priest *Kii-ho* observed the stars, and, desiring to convert people, came to salute the emperor, who is here called "the Honourable" and afterwards "Heaven."

⁶³ To offer together with *Kii-ho* Christian sacrifices in the *Hin-kin* palace.

⁶⁴ The Saints do everything.

⁶⁵ Christian churches.

⁶⁶ The Christmas festival.

⁶⁷ The then reigning emperor *Te-sun*, whose reign was as unfortunate as that of his father, *Tai-sun*, if not more so.

When one reaches the square, the grand and the vacuum, he is attentive to devote himself solely to repose and to have indulgence, to extend his goodness, to lighten all miseries, and to cover all men by a good loan. This is by our great intention to work, to repair; this is by the scale of our behaviour and our progress to draw; to cause wind and rain to arrive in due season; that whatever is under heaven may be peaceable; that men may be ranged and things may be proper; that the living may be in abundance, and the dead in joy; that sound may respond to the rising thought, and that an affection as soon as produced may be perfect in itself. This pertains to the merit and to the powerful use of our admirable forces. The Bonze *Y-su*,⁶⁸ a great benefactor, clothed in a beautiful blueish robe, great, with a brilliant salary, and at the same time Lieutenant of the General Commander of *So-fan*, as well as Inspector of the Court in the interior of the palace, and gratified with the blue robe of a Bonze, is peaceable and beneficent. He has arrived from *Chun-hia*,⁶⁹ from very far, namely, the town of *Van-she-chin*.⁷⁰ He surpassed in industry the three dynasties. He is ten times complete in the tradition of the arts. In the beginning he acquitted himself of his duty in the vermilion court. In fact he glorified his name in the pavilion of the king. *Kao-su-i*, president of the ministerial court, king of the town of *Fen-yan*, was in the beginning generalissimo of the armes of *So-fan*. *Su-sun* desired that he should accompany him very far; although he had been familiarly received in the bedchamber, he was not more different than if he had been a simple soldier. He was [like] the claws and the nails of the commonwealth, and [like] the ears and the eyes of the armies. He had the strength to distribute his salary, his gifts, and accumulated nothing in his house.

"He offered *Lin-ngan* glasses, and spread out the golden carpets of *Su-ki*.⁷¹ Sometimes he left the old temples as they were before, sometimes he aggrandized anew the palace of the law. He heightened

⁶⁸ The name of a Christian priest already alluded to above in a quotation by Bishop Visdelou from the classic annals. In those times Christian priests probably always assumed the names and garments of bonzes, as nearly a thousand years afterwards also Father Ricci did, at least in the beginning of his sojourn in China, where he re-introduced Christianity, of which scarcely a trace had been left.

⁶⁹ The Middle Kingdom.

⁷⁰ 'Town of the royal house' in Tartary, of which it was the capital when this bonze had come from China; whence the conclusion follows that Christianity must at that time already have made some progress in Tartary.

⁷¹ *Lin-ngan*, namely, 'benefits ready to spread,' and gilded *Su-ki* carpets, i.e. 'rejecting repose.'

the porticoes and adorned the roofs in the manner of a pheasant that flies. Besides this he rendered service to the admirable gate.⁷² He leaned on charity, he distributed utility. Every year he assembled the Bonzes and the disciples of the four temples.⁷³ He served with ardour; he furnished property and made arrangement during five decades of days. Those who were hungry came, and he fed them. Those who felt cold came, and he clothed them. He took care of the sick and comforted them. He buried the dead, and gave them rest. Never have so many fine things been heard among the *Ta-so* of pure duty.⁷⁴ The admirable literati dressed in white⁷⁵ see at present men there. They hasten to engrave a large monument to give vent to their happy splendour. The discourse says what follows⁷⁶ :—

“The true lord is without beginning; he is eternally pure and solitary. He was the first author. He has constructed and converted, founded the earth and established the sky. Dividing his body he came into the world. Aiding, he has without reserve passed [all] into the ark. Ascending by day, darkness has been extinguished.”⁷⁷ He has declared all which is true and mysterious.

“The illustrious and civil Emperor⁷⁸ has surpassed in wisdom the past Emperors. At a favourable time he arranged what was troubled. Heaven was amplified and earth extended. The celebrated admirable religion returned to our *Than*.⁷⁹ He translated the scriptures, built temples, and passed into the ark the living and the dead.⁸⁰ A hundred felicities rose at once. Ten thousand [*i.e.* all] realms were pacified.

“*Kao-sun* continued [*i.e.* followed the vestiges of] his ancestors. New edifices of pure roofs⁸¹ (the temples of concord⁸²) were splendidly

⁷² The Christian religion.

⁷³ The Bonzes and Christians of the four churches.

⁷⁴ This is not a Chinese expression, and Visdelou could not explain it.

⁷⁵ Christian priests dressed in white see at present with their own eyes so many great men.

⁷⁶ The inscription is as follows.

⁷⁷ The sun of righteousness has, by ascending, made an end of darkness.

⁷⁸ The Emperor *Tai-sun*.

⁷⁹ Under his reign the very illustrious Christian religion penetrated into our empire of China, which was at that time governed by the *Than* dynasty.

⁸⁰ It may be observed that here the Emperor, as in the preceding paragraph the Creator, is made to pass all men into the ark of salvation.

⁸¹ Churches.

⁸² *Ho-kung* means the temple of concord of the ancient emperor Hoang-ti.

amplified; they filled the Middle Kingdom on all sides. The true doctrine was published clearly. The sovereigns of the law were created according to the forms.⁸³ Men possessed joy and tranquillity.

"*Hiuen-sun*"⁸⁴ opened holiness; he employed himself to adore the true locality. The imperial tablet spread out its splendour; the celestial inscription shone marvellously. The august tablet shone with brilliancy; the whole earth revered loudly; all affairs were in peace; men leaned on the felicitation.

"*Su-sun*" on arriving returned⁸⁵; celestial majesty had led this chariot far; the holy sun displayed its living light. The fortunate wind swept the night, felicity returned to the august house. The monstrous vapour⁸⁶ bade farewell for ever. It stopped the boiling, caused the dust to cease, and made our country great.

"*Tai-sun*"⁸⁷ was pious and just; he was in virtue like heaven and earth. He opened and accommodated, he produced and perfected. Things drew a beautiful utility. He burned perfume to announce merit. [He profited] by charity to spend largesses. The valley of the East⁸⁸ came [to salute] Majesty. The hole of the moon was entirely reunited.

"*Kien-chun*"⁸⁹ has strengthened mediocrity and has mastered the extremities; and certainly he has adorned brilliant virtue. By war he has caused the four obscure ones to tremble.^{90a} By ornament he has cleansed ten thousand countries. [Like] a torch he has carried [his light] on the hidden [miseries] of men; [like] a mirror he has contemplated the colours of things. He illuminated and resuscitated the world. He gave laws to a hundred [*i.e.* all] barbarians. The sixfold union⁹⁰ has clearly recovered vigour. A hundred [*i.e.* all] barbarians

⁸³ He created according to the forms the pontiffs of the religion, dedicated to the five *Shang-ti*, who are the prime ministers of the great *Shang-ti*, *i.e.* supreme God. It may here be observed that the last-mentioned Chinese expression is even at present used in the Chinese Bible to designate the Almighty.

⁸⁴ The emperor *Hiuen-sun*.

⁸⁵ *Su-sun*, having recovered the empire, returned to the imperial city.

⁸⁶ Vapour of the rebellion.

⁸⁷ The emperor *Tai-sun*.

⁸⁸ All the nations of the West went to him. *Yue-ku* means 'hole of the moon,' and designates the West, whence the moon first shows itself, and the expression effectively implies the most retired localities of the palace of the moon.

⁸⁹ The then reigning emperor *Te-sun*, but with the title of *Kien-chun*.

^{90a} By his bravery he has inculcated fear and respect to all within the four seas.

⁹⁰ The sixfold union, *Siu-ho*, is the universe, completed by the four regions of the world with their upper and nether parts.

have drawn a copy⁹¹ by means of a certainly ample reason *Hui!* The certainly pressed reply being named is perforce called *Hui!* and interpreted threefold unity. The sovereign can make *Hui!* The subject may publish; he raises this magnificent stone *Hui!* in order to celebrate the fortunate first-begotten.

"This stone was established and raised in the second year of *Kien-chun*⁹² of the great dynasty of the *Thans*, Jupiter being in *so-ngo*,⁹³ on the seventh day of the moon called *Tai-seu*,⁹⁴ the day of the great luminaries, shining in good order. At this time *Nin-shu*, the lord of the law, was governing the admirable multitude of the Oriental country.

"*Liu-sieu-yen*, councillor of the palace, formerly of the war-council of the Grand Provost of the town of *Tai-cheu*, has written."⁹⁵

THE BISHOPS.

The second bishop of China, and successor of the bishop Olopen named in the inscription of Sin-gan-fu, was Gio, *i.e.* Joannes. He was installed already in the year 699 as the head of the Church, which suffered persecution, but was after it again revived by him in 713, in connection with another Chinese prelate, Kie-lie, and with the approbation of the emperor Yuen-sun-chi-tao. In the year 745 the third bishop, Kie-ho, arrived in China from Ta-sin, *i.e.* Syria or Assyria, with two other priests, Lo-han and Pu-lun, who did great works. The precise time at which David, the fourth bishop of China, was sent to that country by the Catholicus Timothy I. cannot be ascertained⁹⁶; but Y-su, whose uncorrupted name was probably Josuah, arrived in 780 by way of India. Hing-siu was the sixth metropolitan of China, and presided

⁹¹ The paraphrasis of this phrase and of the remainder of the paragraph is as follows:—"All the barbarians received the rules of life. Wisdom, or the Christian religion, is certainly great; it immediately works wonders in the human heart. As it cannot be named, one is forced to give it by interpretation the name of Trinity. It is certainly the duty of kings to do good. And it is the duty of the subjects to publish to posterity the good they have done. Accordingly we raise this illustrious stone, to celebrate the happy and flourishing state in which affairs now are."

⁹² A.D. 781, the emperor's name, as above in note 89.

⁹³ *So-ngo* is the 10th character of the duodecimal cycle and the mark of the 10th month; but the appellation is unusual.

⁹⁴ *Tai-seu* is also an unusual name for the first month.

⁹⁵ "Has added this inscription to the stone." This was A.D. 781 on the 7th day of the first moon of the Chinese year,—that is, of the moon when the sun enters Pisces; then the monument was erected.

⁹⁶ *Bibl. Gr.*, t. III., p. 469.

over the see in 781, when the marble inscription of Sin-gan-fu was erected, at the end of which he is eulogized.

The Khákán, *i.e.* sovereign of the Turks, whose name is not given, was, according to Mares's *History of the Nestorian Patriarchs*, converted to the Christian faith by the patriarch Timothy, who presided over the Nestorian flock from 778 till 820 :—"Timothy called Khákán, king of the Turks, and other princes to the faith, and received their letters ; and he had many disciples among the people."⁹⁷

According to Portuguese authors and the writings or traditions of Malabar Christians, Thomas, the seventh bishop of China, was sent to that country by way of India long after the year 889. He had been sent by the Greek patriarch of Bagh'dád in the company of another bishop, who took up his abode in the island of Socotra, whilst he himself appears to have alone set sail to China from Ceylon. This happened more than forty years after the severe edict of the emperor Wan-tsung against Buddhist and Christian priests—the substance of which has already been given above according to Visdelou and Pauthier—had been published ; and a revival of the faith may again have commenced, which supposition is, however, not countenanced by the contemporary author of the *Kitab Al-Fihrist*, who fell in with a monk returning from China more than half a century after bishop Thomas had been sent to that country :—"This is what the Najrani monk, who had come from China in the year 377 [A.D. 987], has narrated to me. This man, who was of the people of Najran, had about seven years ago been sent by the Catholicus to China with five other Christian men in order to attend to religious affairs ; and this monk returned [alone] of the company at last, after six years. I met him in the mansion of Rúm [*i.e.* of the Greek Christians of Bagh'dád], in the rear of the church. I beheld a young handsome man, speaking little unless asked ; I inquired about his adventures and about his staying away for so long a time. Accordingly he mentioned to me what had happened to him on the road and delayed him, and that the Christians who were in China had been annihilated from various causes, so that in the whole country not more of them than one remained. He also told me that they had churches which were destroyed, and said, ' When I saw none to whom I could minister, I returned faster than I had

⁹⁷ ودعي طيما ثاوس خاقان ملك الترك الي الا مائة وغيره من الملوك وزدت عليه كنهم وتلذذ خلقا

come.' He also said that there was a difference of opinion about the length of voyages, as they are unpleasant, and few persons know anything about them; they are also dangerous. There are, however, islands to shorten the voyages, but those who do not mind braving danger pass them by. He said that the name of the city where the king resides is Tajuyah, and that the country belonged to two of them, but one of them having perished the other survives."^{97a}

Here the series of Chinese bishops is interrupted, and terminates with the seventh, the eighth not being mentioned till the 13th century by William Rubruquis, who does not even give his name, but states that he was an absentee who ought to have resided at Seguin, *i.e.* Singan-fu, which was then, as now, a stronghold of Muhammadanism:— "Besides these Lamas, who are the priests of the religion of the country,—that is, of Fo [Buddha],—there were at that time also many Muhammadans and Nestorian Christians; but the latter, says Rubruquis, are so ignorant that they do not even understand the Syriac language, in which their books are written; they are also very corrupt, great

^{97a} ما حكا لي الراهب النجراني الوارد من بلد الصين في سنة سبع وسبعين وثلثمائة هذا الرجل من اهل نجران انقذه الجاثليق منذ نحو سبع سنين الي بلد الصين وانقذ معه خمسة اناس من النصاري ممن يقوم بامر الدين فعاد من الجماعة هذا الراهب و اخر بعد ست سنين فلقيته بدار الروم وراء البيعة فرايت رجلا شابا حسن الهيئة قليل الكلام الا ان يسئل فسألته عما خرج فيه و السبب في ابطائه طول هذه المدة فذكر امورا لحقته في الطريق عاقته و ان النصاري الذين كانوا ببلد الصين فنيوا و هلكوا باسباب و انه لم يبق في جميع البلاد الا رجل واحد و ذكر انه كان لهم تم بيعة خربت قال فلما لم ار من اقوم لهم بينهم عدت في اقل من المدة التي مضيت فيها فمن حكاياته قال ان المسافات في البحر قد اختلفت وفسد امرا لبحر و قل اهل الخبرة به وظهر فيه آفات و خوف و جزائر قطعت المسافات الا ان الذي يسلم علي القرر يسلك و حكي ان اسم مدينة الملك طاجويه و فيها الملك و كانت المملكة الي اثنين فهلك احدهما و بقي الاخر—

usurers, drunkards ; some have even, according to the example of the Tatars, several wives, and have adopted certain practices observed by the Musalmáns, such as the ablutions ; like them they celebrate Friday instead of Sunday. Their bishop comes scarcely once in fifty years to this country ; then he gives the order of priesthood to certain children, even to such as are still in the cradle, wherefore the majority of the people are priests. This behaviour of the Nestorians, who were spread over the whole of Tartary, produced at that time aversion towards Christianity, as the lives of the Mongols and the Lamas were more regular.⁹⁸ No doubt the hatred borne by Roman Catholic missionaries towards the Nestorians, whom they could not force to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, and his Church as the only orthodox one, had prompted the severity of these remarks, which will afterwards be repeated without further comments on them, and it will suffice now to caution the reader once for all that although the purity of Christian institutions and men suffered, let us hope that the case was not so bad as represented by prejudiced European monks.

We know nothing of the state of Christianity in Turkestan, Tartary, and China from the period of Timothy, and Syriac authors are reticent on the matter down to the 10th century ; both Mares and Abulfaraj have, however, recorded that about A.D. 1000 Ebedjesu, the Archbishop of Merv, in Khorásán, was instrumental in converting the Kerait nation, on the boundary of China.⁹⁹ The last-mentioned historian speaks on the subject as follows :—“ The Nestorian patriarch John (who occupied from the year 1001 till 1012 the patriarchal see of Bagh'dád) received from Ebedjesu, the metropolitan of Merv, in Khorásán, a letter worded as follows :—‘The king of the people named Kerait [Cherith], who dwells in the interior of Turkey towards the north-east, lost his way one day when he was hunting in certain mountains which were at that time covered with snow. He had lost all hope of escape, when a saint appeared to him and said, “ If thou wilt believe in Jesus Christ I will extricate thee from danger and show thee the way.” The king promised him to become a sheep of the Christian flock, whereupon the saint guided him to the good road. When they had reached the camp, the prince questioned Christian merchants who resided in his country about the dogmas of their religion. He

⁹⁸ DeGuignes, *Hist. gén. des Huns*, t. III., pp. 25 seq.

⁹⁹ Ass., *Bibl. Or.*, t. III., p. 11., p. cccxxxiii.

learnt from them that a man could not be a Christian without being baptized, and they gave him a book of the Gospels, to which he pays homage daily. He had just invited me to pay him a visit, or to send him a priest who might baptize him. He asked me about fasting and said, 'We have no other food except meat and milk; then how shall we fast?' He added that "200,000 persons were ready to follow his example. The patriarch sent a reply to the metropolitan to despatch two priests and deacons provided with sacred vessels to baptize all who were willing to be converted, and to teach them the rites of the Christians, informing them that they were to abstain from meat in Lent, but to allow them the use of milk, as they said they had in their country no food for the Lent."¹⁰⁰

Wang, the Chinese equivalent for the word 'king,' and written by European authors *Unc*, or *Unk*, whilst Muhammadans spell it *أونك*, *Awunk*, has been transformed into a proper noun and applied to designate at least four princes, the first being the above-mentioned chief of the Keraites and of some Turkish tribes, who is said to have been converted with 200,000 of his subjects in the year 1008. The second, who was the son of the former, undertook, according to Abulfaraj, in the year 1046, with six other Tatar kings, an invasion as far as the city of Kashgar. The third extended, according to Otto Frisingensis, also in 1046, the dominions of his father, who had on the one side advanced as far as India, and on the other as far as the river Tigris. A very bombastic letter written by this prince to the Pope is preserved in the Vatican library: he pretends to have conquered the Medes and Assyrians; to have seventy vassal kings; twelve archbishops on his right hand when he eats, and twenty bishops on his left, &c. A portion of the letter is given by Assemani. The fourth and last sovereign of the Christian Tatars, whom Vincentius Bellovacensis calls David the son of John the presbyter, is he who was, according to Abulfaraj, slain in 1203, but according to others in 1202, by Chenghiz Khán.¹⁰¹

This last Unc Khan was no other than the celebrated Prester John, about whom the heads of medieval travellers and monks were so full, but who could not be identified. The one mentioned by Plano Carpini has by Oppert been proved to be Sultan Jellal-ad-din of Kho-

¹⁰⁰ Abulfaraj places this event A.H. 398 (A.D. 1007), Mares also narrates it in his Syriac life of the patriarch Joseph: *ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. cccclxxxvii.

warezm,¹⁰² but the Uncs of Rubruquis and Polo, between whose accounts there is an interval of only about a score of years, are one and the same person. Abulfaraj, in his *Syriac Chronicle*, ascribes the defeat and death of Unc, i. e. Prester John, to his apostasy from Christianity :—" It is, however, to be known that the aforementioned John, king of the Keraites, has by no means been discarded [by the Almighty] without a cause, but because his heart had declined from the love of Christ his Lord, who had exalted him, and because he had married a wife from some Chinese nation named Karakhata, and, abandoning the religion of his fathers, had worshipped other gods; wherefore God took the kingdom away from him, and gave it to a better man, whose heart was right before God."¹⁰³ Marco Polo says on the same subject, " But their lord had abandoned the worship of Christ to follow idols, and kept by him those priests of the idols who are devil-raisers and sorcerers." Although, according to what has preceded, Unc Khan appears to have abandoned the faith, or, as Col. Yule says, was in any case not a credit to it,¹⁰⁴ his daughter the wife of Chenghiz seems to have been a Christian,¹⁰⁵ if we are

¹⁰² Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I., p. 207.

¹⁰³ Abulfaraj's *Syriac Chronicle*, Ass., *Bibl. Or.*, t. III., pt. II., p. ccccxvii.

¹⁰⁴ Vol. I., p. 208.

¹⁰⁵ *Bibl. Or. D'Herbelot*, t. IV., p. 313 :—" Temujin, called Chenghiz Khan, married the daughter of Unc Khan A. H. 599, which alliance, however, did not hinder him from depriving his father-in-law of his possessions." Ass., *Bibl. Or.*, t. III., pt. II., p. di. :—" That the name of Unc Khan's daughter whom Chenghiz Khan married was Iasun-Chin-beghi I have observed above from Abulfaraj. Renaudot calls her Bulginbeghi. She kept, according to Vincentius (bk. xxix., ch. 27 of his *Speculum*), a certain favourite Nestorian monk near her person." The name of this monk was Rabbanta, and he was very influential with this princess, whom he had accompanied from her father's house to Chenghiz Khan, but when she died he was dismissed. He appears to have been a great hypocrite and time-server; accordingly Vincentius Bellovacensis says that he went straight to hell when he died. Col. Yule (*Marco Polo*, vol. I., p. 210) is of opinion that there is no foundation for believing that Chenghiz Khan married a daughter of Unc Khan, but says that "about 1202, when Unc Khan and Chenghiz were still acting in professed alliance, a double union was proposed between Unc Khan's daughter Jaur Beghi and Chenghiz's son Juji, and between Chenghiz's daughter Kijin Beghi and Togrul's grandson Kush Buka. From certain circumstances this union fell through; this was one of the circumstances which opened the breach between the two chiefs. There were, however, several marriages between the families." In another passage of the same work (foot-note 2, p. 249) Col. Yule admits that Chenghiz Khan married a niece of Unc. He says, " We find, however, many princesses of this family married into that of Chenghiz; thus three nieces of Unc Khan became wives respectively of Chenghiz himself and of his sons Juji and Tului: she who was the wife of the latter, Serkukteni Beghi, being the mother of Mangu, Hulagu, and Kubilai. Dukuz-Khâtûn, the Christian wife of Hulagu, was a grand-daughter of Unc Khan.

to believe Abulfaraj, who writes thus :—" He [Chenghiz Khan] is said to have ascended to the top of a high hill, where he bared his head and implored the Almighty to grant him aid against one who had injured him before. There he remained three days and nights fasting, and beheld during the third night a monk dressed in black garments and holding a staff in his hand, who, standing near the door, said, 'Fear not, do what thou listest, for thou wilt be successful.' Hereupon Chenghiz Khan awoke and was filled with consternation mixed with joy. When he returned home and narrated the vision to his wife, who was the daughter of Unc Khan, she replied, 'This is the appearance of the bishop who often visited my father and blessed him, and whose coming to thee is a sign of luck having been transferred to thee.' Hereupon Chenghiz Khan asked the Oigur Christians in his service whether any bishop was there. They mentioned *Mar Denha*, who being called, and appearing with a black mitre, was by Chenghiz recognized as wearing the same dress but not being the same person as he had seen in his vision. The bishop replied, 'Perhaps the Khan has beheld one of our saints;' and from that time Chenghiz conceived a good opinion of Christians and honoured them."¹⁰⁶

It is no wonder that Unc Khan attained such celebrity among Christians; those of Asia believed that in the far East there existed a Christian sovereign and even priest, whom they called *Prester John*; this opinion was propagated by the Nestorians, and the first missionaries in Tartary made careful inquiries about this personage, but could obtain no information. "He is very renowned everywhere," says the cordelier William Rubruquis, "although when I passed through his country (in 1253) nobody remembered who he was, except some Nestorians, who spoke marvellous things about him, but a great deal more than there was occasion for, because it is the habit of Nestorians arriving from those countries to make much ado about little things."¹⁰⁷

In the Mongol dominions the Nestorian sees of bishops at all times exceeded the Roman Catholic ones, even to the 14th century, when they extended from the Chinese to the Mediterranean Sea. The Latin churches were chiefly situated in Asia Minor, but Khán-balig ('the Khan's residence'), i.e. Peking ('the northern court'), contained both a Nestorian metropolitan and a Roman Catholic archbishop. Zaytún

¹⁰⁶ تاريخ مختصر الدول *Hist. compendiosa dynastiarum*, ed. Pococke. Oxon, 1683, p. 285.

¹⁰⁷ See footnote 1 to p. 52, vol. I. of Col. Yule's *See Marco Polo*.

had only a Latin bishop, whilst Tangut, Sin, Kashgar, Balkh, Herat, Tus, Merv, Sejestán, Fars, Baçrah, Jandishapór, i.e. Gardishapór, Rey, Dailam, Holwán, Bagh'dád, Beth-Garma, Arbil, Mauçul, Nineveh, Damascus, and Jerusalem had each only a Nestorian metropolitan. On the other hand, Nakshiván, Sarai, Soltanieh, Thaddæus, and Trebisond were Roman Catholic archishopricks; whilst Diagorgún, Moraghah, Ormas, Sebastopolis, Tabriz, and Tiflis had each a bishop of the same denomination, and also a Nestorian prelate.

NAMES BY WHICH ORIENTALS DESIGNATE CHRISTIANS.

Armenian authors designate Christians by the word *Arkaiun* or *Arkaun*, which was formerly used also by the Mongols and Persians, who spelt it اركاون, but the Chinese form of this word is *Ye-li-kha-ven*, which came into use under Kubilai in 1289, when he appointed officers to superintend the affairs of Christians, and when also two other words were used, namely, *Marha* and *Seliepan*, which Colonel Yule¹⁰⁸ supposes to mean respectively the Jacobite-Armenian and Syriac Churches. The author of the *Jehán Kushái* uses, besides *Arkaun*, also the word *Tuin* to designate Christian priests, but also idolaters; whilst in the *Tabaḥāt-i-Náçeri*, *Brahmans* and *Tuins* برهمنان و توبنان occur in one passage, and in another the inhabitants of a certain town in Tibet are stated to be professors of the Christian religion, دين ترساي دارند, whereas by the word *Tersái* ترسائي in this passage the dogmas of the Lamas are to be understood. In modern Persian dictionaries for the word *Neçráni* the word *Tersá* is given as an equivalent, which Meninski, Richardson, and other European lexicographers explain to mean 'a Christian, an infidel, and a fire-worshipper.' The explanation of the well-known *Burhán Kāfi* amounts to the same thing, for it says:—

ترسا بر وزن تنها ترسند و بيم برنده و واهم كننده را گرند
و نصراني و آتش پرست را نيز گفته اند

Klaproth¹⁰⁹ states, in his life of Buddha according to Mongol books, that when Sakiamuni preached in the early part of his career at Benares, he often mentioned theological discussions with the idolaters of Persia, named *Ters* in the ancient Mongol books, which, as is well known, could not have been written before the 14th century of our era, as Mongol literature began rather after than before that time.

¹⁰⁸ *Cathay*, vol. I., p. 264.

¹⁰⁹ *Mém. relat. à l'Asie*, t. II., pp. 81 seq.

He says, "The Ters were the sworn foes of the Indian religion. At the time of the reformation brought about by Sakiamuni, the followers of Shiva felt too weak to combat his new doctrine; at that time Dewadath, the paternal uncle and great enemy of Sakiamuni, put himself at the head of the antagonists, and adopted the religion of the Ters, which he endeavoured to introduce also at the courts of several small princes of India. He caused six of the chief doctors of this sect to come in order to pit them against his nephew at a great festival where all the princes were assembled, as he thought he might by their aid overthrow the new doctrine of Buddha, but his efforts against it were futile. The fifteen kings present at this festival assembled daily from the first till the 15th of the month; in these assemblies the six doctors of the Ters endeavoured to attack and to conquer Sakiamuni by means of sorcery. Undaunted by their efforts, he triumphed over them in the most glorious manner by his wisdom and by the sole force of his reasonings; so that after fifteen days of discussion the chief of his adversaries was compelled to prostrate himself before him and to adore him; all who were present rose and followed his example. By this last victory his glory and his doctrine spread over the whole of India, and to commemorate this event his adherents still annually hold a festival during the fifteen first days of the year."

SHAMANISM OF THE MONGOLS.

Yásá, or ancient custom, appears originally to have been the chief rule by which Mongols regulated their conduct, and their chiefs were supremely indifferent about religion; of Chenghiz himself it is on record that he followed none,¹¹⁰ whilst his successors either adhered to the local beliefs of the Mongols, *i.e.* Shamanism, to Buddhism, to Islam, and even to Christianity as some missionaries assert, but the solemn injunction of Chenghiz to his sons was to esteem all alike. A barbarous nation (whose chief occupation was fighting) possessing no literature of any kind, and unacquainted even with the art of writing, could of course have no elaborate and regular system of belief,¹¹¹ and naturally

¹¹⁰ Mirkhond, Bombay lithogr. ed. of A.H. 1271 (A.D. 1855), vol. V., p. 2. *infra* :—

چنگیز خان تابع هیچ دین و ملت نبود

¹¹¹ Rubruquis believed that before the time of Chenghiz Khan the Mongols had no religion at all, for he says that "they were a very poor people without a leader, and without any religion except sorceries and divinations": Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I., p. 207.

yielded to the influences of the above-mentioned religions, all traces of which, however, again disappeared when the Mongols were expelled from China; even Buddhism, which had become the religion of the sovereigns and of the state, was entirely lost in these convulsions, and the people relapsed in many respects again into the condition in which they had been before the conquests of Chenghiz, and their reconversion to Lamaism began after 1577.¹¹²

The Mongols believed in a supreme god, whom they appear, however, to have confounded with the firmament or visible heaven, like the Chinese and some other nations of Asia, but their popular god was *Nogatai*, the god of the earth, who watched over their children, cattle, and crops; they made portable idols of felt not only of him, but also of his wife and children, all of which they fed by smearing their mouths with grease and meat when they themselves took their meals. Such are the statements of Marco Polo, Plano Carpini, Hayton, Vincentius, and others.

The name of the supreme god was *Tengri* ('heaven'), who is, as far as I am aware, mentioned not more than five times as *Tengri-Khormusda* in Ssanang Ssetsen's *History of the Eastern Mongols*, which comes down to the year 1662, and not in any other work. The belief in this supreme god,—who was, however, not considered to be also the creator, governor, and preserver of the universe,—in conjunction with the worship paid to a multitude of good and evil spirits, constitutes *Shamanism*, which prevailed over the whole of Eastern Asia before the introduction of the Lamaic religion, i.e. the branch of Buddhism presided over by the Dalai Lama of Tibet; its ridiculous ceremonies mixed with practices of Buddhism still partly subsist among the Manchus, but particularly the invocation of spirits.¹¹³ The Mon-

¹¹² The Buddhism of the Mongols decayed and became practically extinct after their expulsion from China (1368-9). The old Shamanism then apparently revived, nor was it till 1577 that the great reconversion to Lamaism began. This reconversion is the most prominent event in the Mongol history of Ssanang Ssetsen, &c.—*Ibid.*, p. 224.

¹¹³ The following are brief extracts from the Manchu ritual:—"Our Manchus are, from the origin of the nation, of a truly respectful temperament, and of a firm and persevering character: wherefore we have always attached great importance to the ceremonies which serve respectfully to honour Heaven, Fo [Buddha], and the spirits. On examining the doctrine of the various Manchu families, and of every place and canton, it was found that the invocation of spirits by means of sacrifices was nearly everywhere the same."—Klaproth, *Mém. rel. à l'Asie*, t. III., p. 69.

"Every day, in the morning and in the evening, sacrifices are offered to the spirits in the *Kun-ning-gung*; every month offerings of victims are made to Heaven;

gols worshipped also the sun, the moon, the rivers, and the elements. They left their tents to pay homage to the luminary of the day by genuflections towards the south ; they also poured libations as an act of worship to the celestial bodies and to the elements.

The powers of nature had from the most ancient times been personified among Asiatic nations, and according to them not only the earth and its bowels, but also the sky, is full of spirits, who exert either a beneficent or maleficent influence on mankind ; accordingly it is no wonder that this belief was current not only among the Mongols, but also the Zoroastrians and Hindus. Every country, mountain, river, brook, tree, or any other object of Nature was by the Mongols believed to have a spirit for its tenant ; not only violent natural phenomena, such as thunder, earthquakes, hurricanes, and inundations, but also bad crops, epidemics, all kinds of other diseases and evils, such as sudden attacks of epilepsy, lunacy, &c., were ascribed to the wrath of these gods, who are divided into many classes, greatly differing in power and effect. Deserted, inhospitable regions, or those where Nature displays herself in gigantic forms and terrors, were considered the chief gathering-places of evil spirits, whence they proceeded also to other countries to exert their wicked influences. Hence the wastes and heights of Mazanderán are, in the *Shahnamah* and other works, described as the abodes of Devs ; but the deserts of Turán, and especially the sandy plains of Gobi, were already in hoary antiquity noted as the haunts of evil spirits. Even Tibet is, in the sacred scriptures of the Buddhists, represented in its original condition as a country full of terrible ghosts and wild beasts. The *Shamanism* of nearly all the nations of Central Asia is based on this extensive faith in demons, which was more general in early times, but has considerably diminished after the introduction of Buddhism, and afterwards of Islam, so that it is at present confined only to the barbar-

and every year, in the two seasons of spring and autumn, great sacrifices are performed for the chief of the race and for the great-grandfather. In the four seasons precious things are offered by beating the earth with the forehead. Every month [gilded] papers are suspended in the tabernacle of the temple, and in that of the emperor of heaven. In the two seasons of spring and autumn, in the temple itself, before the place of sacrifice, a high pole [with a flag on it] is raised : this ceremony is observed at each sacrifice offered to the chief of the race and to the great-grandfather. All this has propagated itself from the origin of the Mantchu nation down to our times, as being very reasonable."

"Nevertheless the ancient *Samans* were originally all very skilled in the Mantchu tongue. Accommodating themselves to circumstances in times of rejoicing, they composed beautiful phrases, which they recited on their knees, invoking the spirits. The language of the later *Samans* did not equal that of the ancient *Samans* their predecessors."—*Ibidem*, p. 77.

ous tribes of Northern and of Eastern Asia ; for all that, however, it has by no means entirely disappeared among the Mongols and Tibetans, where it still prevails in the midst of Buddhist tenets and ceremonies, nor have its traces entirely disappeared among the nomadic Muhammadan tribes. Among the nations converted to Buddhism, the business of exorcising and conjuring spirits, formerly performed by the *Shamans*,¹¹⁴ has in course of time been delegated to Buddhist priests, who have organized the various kinds of spirits according to Hindu views, and who have also identified the Mongol *Khormusda* with the Hindu Indra. This name of the supreme good spirit is no other than the Ahura Mazdas or Hormuzd of the Zoroastrians, which had survived among the Mongols from the most remote times, and was thus transformed because they have no *h* in their language, and because they cannot pronounce the letters *sd* without adding a vowel to them. The division of spirits into good and bad ones, *i.e.* Izeds and Devs, is naturally a remnant of the ancient demonolatriy of Eastern Asia in general, and of *Shamanism* in particular, of which Zoroastrianism itself appears to be only a more noble development, founded on the same basis, *i.e.* the existence of mighty and of subordinate good and evil spirits, exerting either a preserving or a destructive influence on everything contained in Nature. The notions about the *Shimnus*, a kind of powerful spirits, whose region follows immediately after that of the Jánas, and is therefore exalted far above that of the beneficent Khormusda (Indra) with his 33 Tegrís (Amshaspands ?), have been developed quite separately from, and later than, Zoroastrianism, in connection with Buddhism, the more so as these Tegrís, as well as all the other corporeal and spiritual beings of the Amaranak, *i.e.* physical world, stand in a certain measure under the dominion of the *Shimnus* and of their chief,—greatly contrasting with Zoroastrianism, in which, although the good creation is constantly at war with the evil one, the former is always represented as victorious,—whose name is in Sanskrit *Mara*, ‘death, ruin, resistance,’ but also a name of Kama, the god of sensual love. The *Shimnus* are chiefly represented as antagonists of Buddha and his religion, the chief requirement of which is the subjugation of sensuality, and as such they endeavour to alienate men therefrom by all kinds of wicked means, for which purpose they often emanate as heresiarchs, seducers,

¹¹⁴ Mongolian *Kám* or *Bögeh*, Tibetan *Hlaba*, and Mantchu *Saman*, the last well known to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word *Śramana*.

tyrants, &c., in female as well as in male guise. Buddha himself was exposed to their temptations, and had much to suffer from their mockeries and insults.

Although the Shimnus and their effects greatly resemble Satan and satanic powers, as the object of all of them is to retain men under the dominion of sin and matter, and for this purpose to excite and to nourish their passions, they nevertheless differ from devils and the ideas connected with them, because they have nothing to do with the places of condemnation ; they neither dwell in the infernal regions, nor exert any influence on them, or on the punishments administered there, and are themselves not condemned to any : wherein they again resemble the Zoroastrian Ahriman with his evil spirits.

These evil spirits were propitiated either by offerings or by the exorcisms of the Káms, the priests of the Mongols, who were at the same time magicians, interpreters of dreams, augurs, aruspices, astrologers, and physicians. Every one of these soothsayers pretended to have familiar spirits¹¹⁵ who discovered to them the secrets of the past, the present, and the future. They evoked these spirits with magic formulas at the sounds of the tambourine, working themselves gradually into a frenzy, which ended with horrible contortions when the demons had entered them and they uttered their oracles. They were consulted on all occasions, because they enjoyed the blind confidence of the people, which they knew how to retain, even when their predictions turned out false, because they adduced reasons leaving the belief in their infallibility unshaken.

These priests retained their influence among the people, and even among the Mongol sovereigns, so tenaciously that even those successors of Chinghiz who had made their profession of Islam consulted them, and the author of the *Jehán Kushái* states that¹¹⁶ in those times they knew magic, and the adepts were called Káms. Argh'un, who died in 1291 (A. H. 690), is by Mirkhond described as having entertained

¹¹⁵ " Et plurimos nos ipsi vidimus attestantes illis atque dicentes, se demonum voces audivisse cum illis loquentes per fenestras tentoriorum. Porro ea ad illos demonum manifestatio non antea perficitur, quam ab aliis viris polluantur ; quando quidam illorum plerique hermaphroditæ sunt. Adeo foedi sunt, ut quando aliquid ex malefica arte agere volunt, obvium quemque cogant, ut ipsos polluat."—Abulpharagius in Chronico Syriaco, *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, t. III., pt. II., p. ccccvi.

¹¹⁶ در آن وقت ایشان عالم سحر می دانستند که دانندگان آن حرفت را قاصان گفته اند

great tent in Káma Jógia, and in their ways."¹⁰⁹ When his successor, Káshán Khatá B. Abach Khatá B. Hülüngh Khan, succeeded him in 1261 and felt that he desired—according to the injunction of Chenghiz to the sons to consider all religions equally good—the Ulemmas of Jews, the monks, bishops, and wise men among the Jews to come into his presence and pray in their various languages, but with sincere minds, for his recovery;¹¹⁰ but he appeared to be more partial to the Káma than to priests of other religions, and asked them the reason why Arghún Khan had enjoyed but a short life and reign¹¹¹; this happened in Persia among Moslems, many of whom occupied high positions at the court, but offered no resistance to the idolatrous superstitions of the Khan.

Together with the Kámas, also Bakhshis, who were Lamas, are represented as being consulted in 1282 by a Mongol Khan of Persia who had, on his professing Islam, taken the name of Ahmad.¹¹² There was a time when the Bakhshis were probably the only persons among the Mongols who had any kind of education; accordingly they were made writers, secretaries, and even surgeons. Under Ogotai, the successor of Chenghiz, we find Arghún Aka, of the Oirat tribe, who had learnt the profession of a Bakhshi and was enrolled among the Beitakjis, appointed governor of Khorásán.¹¹³ Some centuries later the meaning of the word Bakhshi was still more generalized, especially in India, where, in the army of Akbar, Bakhshis of the first, second, and third class are mentioned, whilst Bernier speaks of "Bakshis or grand masters of cavalry."

In our times the Bakhshis enjoy in a monastery of Lamas the same consideration as an *abbé* in a Christian convent, but Gallung Bakhshis

117 ارغون بغایت معتقد قامان و جوگیان و طریقہ ایشان بود p. 108

118 علماء اسلام و راهبین و اساتفه و حکماء یہود را حاضر کرد تا باختلاف السنہ استقبای عمر و استداعت ایام ہمایون را بہ نیات خالص شرایط صدق اخلاص بتقدم رسانیدند p. 109

119 از قامان سوال کرد کہ ارغون خان چرا عمر و زمان سلطنتہ اندکی یافت p. 110

120 بخشیان و قامان گفتند p. 89

121 ارغون اقارا از قبیلہ اویرات کہ بخشی گری آموخذہ در سلک بیتکچیان آنخراط یافتہ بود بہ حکومت خراسان نامزد کردند

occupy among the other Gallungs the rank which Jugjan (*i.e.* Sakiamuni) occupies among the other gods of the Mongol pantheon. They are engaged in educating young priests, they teach them to read and write the Tangutic language, and initiate them in the practices common among the Lamas. On great holidays they often hold public prayers, but in ordinary ceremonies they take no more part than the Lamas. Besides the Bakhshis of monasteries, there are also others, who may be called supplementary ones. In former times the Kalmuks had only few Bakhshis, who were more respected than the present ones are. The Chinese equivalent for Bakhshi is *Kho-shang*, خورشنگ and designates a Lama among them.

The superstition of vaticinating from the shoulder-blades of animals, particularly sheep, was so universal that

Vaticination from shoulder-blades of animals. even Chenghiz Khan himself practised it, whether he really believed in it or not.¹²²

The *I'm-al-aktif*, *i.e.* 'knowledge of shoulder-blades,' has by the Arabs been elevated to the rank of a science, the beginnings of which they attribute to the Khalif A'li, the cousin and son-in-law of the prophet:— "This doctrine investigates the lines and figures appearing on the shoulder-blades of sheep and goats when exposed to the rays of the sun, so that conclusions are drawn from them concerning the more serious events of the world, such as wars, and abundant or scanty crops are predicted; but it seldom happens that from them particular events in the lives of single individuals are prognosticated. Those who are acquainted with this business take up a shoulder-blade before its meat is cooked, and, first throwing it on the ground, they inspect it, conjecturing from its quality, such as cleanness, impurity, red or green colour, what will happen in the world. Its four sides are referred to the four cardinal points of the world, so that from it the affairs concerning each of these are prophesied."¹²³ Rubruquis, who found this kind of divination in use among the Mongols, says, "When the Khan wants to do anything, he causes three of these blades to be brought before they have been put into the fire, and holding them in his hands

¹²² علم شانه کوسپند نیکو دانستی بیوسته شانه بر آتش نهادی
و عیسوختی و علامات شانر بر این طریق در می یافتی بخلاف شانه
مردمان بلاد عجم که در شانه نظر کنند Mirkhond, vol. V., p. ۳۷۴

¹²³ Hāji Khulfa, Article علم الاکناف p 387, No. ۱۰۸۹

he thinks of the affair on which he desires to consult them, to see whether it is feasible or not. Then he gives these bones to be burnt. There are two small places near the palace where the Khan sleeps, and where they are carefully burnt. Having been well passed through the fire and blackened, they are brought before him, when he looks very curiously at them, in order to see whether they have remained whole, or whether the heat of the fire has not split or burst them, in which case the affair will go on well; but if these bones happen to be broken across, and little splinters fall therefrom, the meaning is that the business must not be undertaken."

Ebn-Arab-Shāh¹²⁴ says that idolaters, magi who worshipped fire, magicians of all kinds, and soothsayers might be seen who could, by inspecting the shoulder-blade of a sheep, foretell whatever good or evil would happen, and who scarcely ever erred in their predictions. The Mamlūk princes introduced this mode of vaticination also into Egypt, and the superstition has, down to our times, survived among all the nations of the Turkish and the Mongol races. After all, however, this manner of predicting the future is not confined to certain parts of Asia and Africa; it is even now practised in Europe among the Albanians and in a portion of Greece; but, as far as the author of this paper is aware, nothing more than the state of the next winter is prognosticated in the south of Hungary from the breastbone of a *goose* usually killed and eaten on the festival of St. Martin,—if the bone be white and clear, it portends a good strong snowy winter, but if dark a great deal of mud and rain.

Pallas gives the following account of the practice:—"Among the various kinds of divination which were, according to all appearances, in vogue from the remotest times among the superstitious nations of the Mongol race, and are still so among all addicted to the superstitions of *Stoicism*, the usage of predicting future events, one or several days before they happen, by inspecting the fissures of shoulder-blades, is worth noticing, on account of the systematic rules of this art, as well as on account of its frequent application. This manner of soothsaying is by the Kalmyks named *Dallats'el*,¹²⁵ and those who practise it *Dallaks*, but by the Kirghizes *Yasavadi*: these are men who have by long practice acquired skill in this art, without practising the trade of servers, or belonging to the clergy. There is a Mongol writing

¹²⁴ *Arab. Hist.* p. 312.

¹²⁵ The word *Dallats'el* means "shoulder-blade."

called *Dalla* ; it contains the rules according to which the various straight or transverse fissures marked on the shoulder-blades that had been exposed to the fire are to be interpreted. The best for this purpose are the shoulder-blades of sheep and of reindeer. First the shoulder is to be cooked, when its meat is cleaned off with a knife, and then the bone is placed on burning coals, where it remains until the *Dallaji* considers that it has fissures enough ; and it is from their proportions, position, and connection with each other that he predicts the future, the issue of an affair, happy or unhappy events, life or death. It is singular enough that by this means accurate predictions are often made, wherefore this kind of divination enjoys great credit among the barbarous tribes of Asia. There are certain principal lines to which all the fissures are referred, and each of these lines has its name, as well as its particular signification."¹²⁶

When the Kalmuks wish to ascertain the fate of an absent person, they carry the shoulder-blade to the *Dallaji* with a garment or utensil belonging to him whose destiny they desire to ascertain. Then the bone is placed on burning coals, and remains on them until the soothsayer considers that it has been sufficiently calcined to present fissures, and then he vaticinates.

It is remarkable that the soothsayers of the Mongols pretended to have the power of causing rains and storms ; thus when a battle was impending during the time of Chenghiz Khan, Buyruk ordered the *Jadujis* to begin their operations¹²⁷ in order to produce a tempest with rain, snow, and terrible cold, all of which they accomplished by incantations, and throwing a certain stone into water.¹²⁸

In 1232, when Tului fought against the *Khitáns*, he was sorely pressed by their army, and in this danger ordered the magic operation of *Jedamishi* to be performed, which consisted chiefly in moistening certain stones with water and then drying them, whereupon they attracted, in the middle of the summer, a hurricane with whirlwinds of

¹²⁶ *Samml. Hist. Nachr. über die Mongol. Völker*, th. III., s. 350.

¹²⁷ بویرق فرمان داد تا جادو جیان بکار خویش مشغول شدند

Mirkhond, vol. V., p. ۱۲

بدانگونه نیرنگها ساختند که سنگی باب اندر انداختند ¹²⁸ *Ibidem*

که خاصیت آنست برف و دمه مگر لشکر شبه بمیرد همه

پدید آمدن مکرشان باد و برف شد از برف صحرا چه دریای ژرف

snow and excessive cold, or at least torrents of rain. In the Mongol army there was a Kankali very skilled in the operation, and he received orders to perform it. The troops of Tului covered themselves with their cloaks and did not alight from their horses during thrice twenty-four hours. They arrived in a district where the villages had been abandoned by their inhabitants, who had also left their cattle and property, so that the soldiers found victuals and clothing in abundance. Meanwhile the Kankali's operation had been successfully accomplished and the rain began; the next day it snowed, a hurricane arose, and the wind was glacial.

The nomadic tribes of Central Asia were in the habit of practising the operation just alluded to from the remotest antiquity. The stone which their soothsayers use to attract rain is called *Yeda* or *Jeda*, and the operation *Jedamishi*; they bear to this day among the Kalmuks the name of *Jedaij*. Bergmann, however, calls them *Sadatshis*, and says that they are considered able to command rain, lightning, and thunder. To attract rain they use bezoar stones, which being thrown into water naturally produce vapour. They pretend that these vapours are the elements of clouds which they have the power to attract; they, however, do not operate unless the sky looks rainy. If they fail in their efforts, they get out of the difficulty by asserting that other magicians have been counteracting them, or that the heat is too strong to be overcome by the rain.

According to a passage of Rashid-al-din, the people also pretend to put an end to a storm by uttering curses against heaven, against lightning, and against thunder. Such is the habit of the Urianghit Mongols, but the other Mongol tribes do exactly the contrary; when it thunders they are seized with fright, and remain shut up in their huts. The Urianghits abstain from eating the flesh of a beast killed by lightning, and are careful not to approach it. The Mongols believe that thunder is produced by a blast resembling a dragon which falls from the sky, strikes the earth with its tail, curls itself up, and vomits flames. Mongols worthy of credit fancy that they have seen this dragon with their own eyes. They also believe that if wine, *kumis*, or milk, or curds be spilled on the ground domestic animals are sure to be struck by thunder, but especially horses; the pouring out of wine is believed infallibly to produce this effect. They imagine that even wet boots exposed to the sun attract thunder; accordingly they are careful to dry them in their huts, after having cautiously closed

Other superstitions about storms.

their upper opening. Thunder is frequent in their country, and the fear with which it inspires them causes them to attribute it to all sorts of causes. They also say that spirits appear to them, with whom they converse; in the time of Rashid-al-din, who composed his *Jāmi'-ul-tovārikh* in 1302, the Kāms were numerous, but especially, says he, "in the country adjoining the inhabited world, and called Barguti or Barguchin-Tugrum, where it is certain that spirits come and converse with these sorcerers."

BUDDHISM.

It is not in the least probable that a ferocious bloodshedder like Chenghiz Khan could have looked on a religion such as Buddhism—which preaches gentleness and mercy towards all living beings, and considers that to take the life even of an insect is a great crime—in any other light than that of an effeminate superstition unfit for brave men; it is nevertheless stated, in a book purporting to be compiled from the *Jerukenu Tolta*,¹²⁹ that he intended to introduce it from Tibet:—"The first period [of the introduction of Buddhism] is the one when Bogda Chenghiz Khagan sent an ambassador to the supreme Lama [of Tibet], the Lama of the Sakias, named Rjebsum Bsodnam Rchemo, with the following command:—"Be thou the Lama who advises me in my present and in my future! I intend to become the lord and cherisher of the gifts of religion, and to unite the practice of the religion with the constitution of the state; for this purpose I have exempted the whole clergy of the realm of Tibet from imposts." Hereupon Rjebsum Bsodnam Rchemo answered, 'I shall endeavour to obey thy commands in everything.' Although at that time the religion was not yet propagated, nevertheless respect towards it began. The second period is divided into two smaller ones, namely, that of Mangu Khagan and of Kubilai Khagan. During the time of Mangu, namely, the Lama Jalpa, named Gorma Dos Gsum Mkhienpa, was with others called from Tibet, and installed as supreme Lama; at that time, however, writings were not yet translated into the Mongol language. Although afterwards, in the time of Kubilai Khagan, Lama Gorma Dos Gsum Mkhienpa performed many signs and wonders of the Riti Khubilghan, it was nevertheless patent to everybody that the Khagan and the Lama did not agree in their opinions and views, and that therefore neither an establishment of the clergy, nor the taking over

¹²⁹ Schmidt's *Ssanang Satsen's Hist. of the Eastern Mongols*, p. 393.

of the office of a protector and cherisher of religious gifts by the Khaghan, had occurred." From this document, written by an adherent of Buddhism, it would appear that although the religion had become known to Chenghiz Khan already, it attained no very great predominance even under Kubilai, so that the writers who represent him to have favoured Christianity also, may be correct in their statements.

According to Ssanang Ssetsen¹³⁰ Buddhism was introduced into Tibet A.D. 407, and during several centuries Pandits were brought from India to teach the religion; this continued down to the 9th century, concerning which period the following passage occurs in the *Bodhimör*¹³¹:—"As the king tried his utmost to lift the religion of Buddha to the highest summit and to make it general, he invited from Hindustan the Pandit Vimalamitra with many other sages and scholars," &c. According to the same work, however, Buddhism suffered an eclipse of nearly a whole century¹³²:—"Although it is customary to say that after Glang Dharma had in the female-iron-hen year (A.D. 901) annihilated the religion, it was again revived in the female-iron-sheep-year (A.D. 911), so that the eternal country named Gdsang is said to have been only nine years without a religion, that period amounts nevertheless in reality to a hundred, or at least to ninety-eight years, during which not even the name of the doctrine was heard."

Although Buddhism was introduced in the 5th century into Tibet, the people of that country are, like the Mongols, indebted to India not only for the origin of their literature, but even for the art of writing, which they learnt in the 7th century, when the king Srong Bdzan Sgambuo, who reigned in Lhassa, and had some knowledge of Buddhism, sent A.D. 632 his prime minister, Tuomi Sambuoda, to India for the purpose of studying the doctrine of Sakiamuni. When this minister returned to Tibet, he composed two alphabets after the model of the Indian characters.¹³³

The above-mentioned king of Tibet propagated Buddhism so zealously that he is believed to have been an incarnation of the god *Khomakin Botisato*, who is usually represented with ten heads and several feet as well as hands. The divine soul of Srong Bdzan Sgambuo, on leaving

¹³⁰ p. 49.

¹³¹ Note 37 to p. 47 to Ssanang Ssetsen.

¹³² Note 53 to p. 55 *ibidem*.

¹³³ Klaproth, *Mém. relat. à l'Asie*, t. II., pp. 88 *seq.*

the body of the king, continued to reappear in other bodies till the epoch when, by the general consent of the clergy, the dignity of *Grand Lama*, whose soul is considered as an incarnation of the god *Aria Balu*, was established. Besides this supreme patriarch, there is yet another living divinity in Tibet, namely the *Banchin Rimbokchi* (in Mongolian *Bogdo Banchin*), whom even the *Dalai Lama* adores, because his divine origin is more ancient than that of the *Grand Lama*; their relationship is that of father and son.

The chief members of the Mongol clergy bear the titles of *Bogdo*, *Gheghen Khutuktu*, *Nomiinkhán*, *Bandida*, *Tsorji*, &c. Their family name is seldom pronounced, from a feeling of respect. In ancient times the title of *Lama* among the Tibetan and Mongol clergy was less frequent than now, as it pertained originally to a higher class of priests, and designates a soul endued with a high degree of sanctity. The first degree which a disciple receives at ordination is that of *Bandi*, the second is called *Goetsul*, and the third, which makes him really a priest, is that of *Ghelong*. All the other appellations of the members of the clergy are only titles of honour bestowed without a new ordination. *Khutukhtu* or *Khubilgan* designates a priest whose soul is the incarnation of that of a previous saint. At present there are but few female incarnations; they are called *Daghimí* or *Khubilgan*. Each *Khutukhtu* possesses a complete list of all the phases which his soul has passed through since the remotest times. Buddhists think that incarnations of saints depended formerly in India upon the will of their soul, and they consider the *Khubilgans* at present existing in Tibet and in Mongolia as the descendants of those who existed previously in Hindustan. The only divine souls which cannot be born again are those of the three founders of the preceding systems of religion, and that of *Sakiamuni* as the founder of the fourth, because these souls are considered as actually present in their doctrines. After the demise of a *Khubilgan* the individual in whom his soul is again incarnated must be found out, for which purpose the priests use a number of conjurations and astrological formulas. When the new *Khubilgan* is found, he is conducted to the dwelling occupied by his predecessor, without reference to the means of his family or to the distance. Often three simultaneous incarnations of the same *Khubilganic* soul are discovered, which are then distinguished as the *personal renascence*, the *renascence of doctrine*, and the *spiritual renascence*. Incarnations can never take place in a direct line of relationship, and, although they depend on the wish of the soul

which is to be born again, they must always take place in a different family.

Buddhism, however,—although it is possible that even Chinghiz may politically, but not naturally, have been inclined to patronize it, and although it obtained a considerable hold among the Mongols after his time, and had even become the religion of the court and state,—again disappeared from among the Mongols, after their expulsion from China in 1368, in such a manner that not a trace of it was left, and the people relapsed again into Shamanism, upon which it had afterwards to be re-engrafted.

THE EASTERN MONGOL EMPERORS OR GRAND KHANS.

The Mongols love to trace the genealogy of their sovereigns to the Tibetans, just as the latter derive their own kings from Hindu monarchs.¹³⁴ The portion of the genealogy from the four sons of Seger Sandalitu, the king of Tibet who was slain by his minister, down to Budantsar,¹³⁵ is no doubt entirely mythical, and becomes a little more credible only after his widow Alan Goa¹³⁶—who appears herself not to have been born in the usual way, but to have been a divine emanation—gives birth to three sons, one of whom was the just-mentioned Budantsar, the eighth ancestor of Chinghiz Khan. The simultaneous birth of these three sons, in the 10th century of our era, was miraculous. Alan Goa was very beautiful and the wife of Danbun Boyan, who died after having begotten two sons by her. After his demise she was entrusted with the government of the tribe and with the education of her two sons, but one night, whilst the lady was reposing, a light suddenly illuminated her apartment, entered her body, and she became *enceinte*. When the time of her confinement was near at hand, her attendants, sons, Amirs, Noyans,¹³⁷ and the nobles of the realm began to reproach her, but she assembled them and said, “He who knows all visible and invisible things is aware of my case, witness of my chastity,” &c., and invited them to spend some time with her; this being done, they convinced themselves that a

¹³⁴ *Anmerkungen*, p. 374 to Schmidt's *Ssanang Seetsen*.

¹³⁵ Mirkhond, ابو زنجر *Abuzanjar*.

¹³⁶ *Ibidem*, آلان قوا *Alán Kowá*.

¹³⁷ The word *Noyán* نويان or *Noy* نوي which belongs to the Mongol language, designated the commander of a *Tumán*, i.e. of a corps of ten thousand men, and is still used among the nations of the same race, where it means ‘prince, noble, officer,’ &c.

light appeared in the aforesaid manner and again vanished, whereupon they no longer blamed the lady.¹³⁸

Thus Alan Goa had five sons, the two first born of whom nevertheless afterwards again reproached her with having begotten posthumous offspring, but she pacified them by propounding to them the well-known parable of the sticks, which she first made them break singly; this, however, they failed to do when the whole bundle of five was given them.¹³⁹ Then she said, "You my two eldest sons have become suspicious of me on account of the gossipings of others;" and after explaining to them in detail her earlier dreams and their resulting in three simultaneous births she concluded, "From this you may see that these three brothers of the *Tegris*¹⁴⁰ are to be equally esteemed. If each of you five will go his own way, you will, like these separate little sticks, fall a prey to any single individual," &c. It may be observed that the account here given is taken from Mirkhond, who appears to have fully believed in the miraculous birth of the three sons, and stating that such things had taken place before, he adduces the birth of the Lord Jesus in confirmation; also Khondemir adds a remark of the same purport, and bishop Visdelou¹⁴¹ observes that this tradition of the Mongols may be a mark of Christianity, which these northern tribes had formerly professed, but had afterwards greatly corrupted.

The five brothers followed the advice of their mother, and became not only reconciled, but also the masters of a tribe without a chief. One of the brothers, the above-mentioned Budantsar, obtains a pregnant woman, whom he marries, and who gives birth to a son. This son is the founder of the Vajirtai family and has also two sons; a descendant of one of these becomes, a few generations afterwards, the father of Temujin, born in 1162, who is the celebrated Chenghiz Khan.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ *Rauzat-al-jafa*, vol. V., pp. ۷ and ۸.

¹³⁹ According to Mirkhond, vol. V., p. 19, also Chenghiz narrated the same parable to his sons, as well as the story of the many-headed serpent and the many-tailed one, who sought refuge in a cave from the cold. At the entrance the heads of the former quarrelled, and it was frozen to death; whilst the tails of the latter, which all obeyed one head, were drawn into the cave and saved.

¹⁴⁰ *Tegri* is the Mongol name for deities or spiritual beings, and is entirely identical with the Hindu *Deva*.—Schmidt's *Ssanang Ssetsen*, *Anmerkungen*, s. 303.

¹⁴¹ *Bibl. Or. D'Herbelot*, t. IV., p. 339.

¹⁴² Historians designate the Mongol sovereign by the words *Khán* خان and *Kadán* قاغان, this latter form being met with often in Moslem authors, but *Ssanang Ssetsen* always writes *Khaján*, of which the last-mentioned form is the contraction.

At that time the Mongols were subject to the *white Tatars*. Prince Yessugai, the father of Chenghiz, united all the hordes of his nation and attacked the white Tatars. He captured their chief, Temujin. On his return from the expedition he found a newborn infant, to whom he gave the name of his prisoner in commemoration of the victory. When Yessugai died, his son Temujin, being only thirteen years old,¹⁴³ was abandoned by the tribes subject to his father, as they would not obey a child. After passing through many adversities, Temujin became the chief of several predatory tribes. The victory which he gained over the Taijutes was the first step on the ladder of his fortune, as well as the first monument of his bloodthirsty character. The enemy's troops are said to have amounted to 30,000, and his to only 13,000 men; after defeating the Taijutes he had the cruelty to boil all his prisoners in eighty cauldrons.

According to Mirkhond¹⁴⁴ some Moslem tribes paid allegiance to Chenghiz and fought in his ranks with the Mongols in the very beginning of his prosperous career; and although Unk Khan is likewise mentioned,—with whom Chenghiz was first on very intimate terms, but whom he afterwards conquered and slew,—nothing is said about his religion. D'Ohsson¹⁴⁵ believes Unk to have been a Christian, as well as the whole Keraite nation which he governed, but Schmidt¹⁴⁶ is of a quite different opinion. He says, "Ong Khagan and his people have, in consequence of the monstrous fable about Christianity among the Keraites,—propagated by European travellers of the Middle Ages, as well as by Syriac authors,—and about the priesthood of their Khan, called by no other names than *Prester John*, attained above all the other tribes remarkable celebrity in Europe." Ssanang Ssetsen's work, which is perfectly useless as a history, but precious as far as the development of Buddhism is concerned, contains not one word about Christianity, of which scarcely a trace had remained, whilst the religion of Sakiamuni had again been revived. Schmidt, not finding anything about Christianity in Ssanang Ssetsen, appears to discredit all other existing records about it, and says, "It was a fixed idea of the Middle Ages, down to the time when the East became more known to Europeans, that the doctrine of Christianity had spread over the whole of Asia, and that adherents thereof were to be found everywhere in that part of the world. This favourite idea had been imported into Europe

¹⁴³ Mirkhond, vol. V., p. 11. ¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*. ¹⁴⁵ *Hist. des Mongols*, t. I., p. 48.

¹⁴⁶ *Anmerkungen* 42, S. 87 to Ssanang Ssetsen.

by the missionaries who travelled in China at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century; and, as they were extremely advantageous to the politics of the Roman court, they were not allowed to disappear as chimeras."¹⁴⁷

In the whole work of Ssanang Ssetsen, Unk Khau is mentioned only in the following passage:—"Thereupon in the U-horse-year [A.D. 1198], and in the 37th of his age, the ruler [*i.e.* Chenghiz Khan] despatched ambassadors to Unk Khagan of the Kernits, with the following message:—"At the time I took my chief spouse, Bürte Jushin, thou didst send me presents of felicitation, invest me with an ermine pelisse, and show thyself to me as a father; let us now be peaceably and justly united, and allied with each other as father and son."¹⁴⁸ Unk Khan, however, distrusted this proposal, concentrated the army of his Keraites, and advanced unexpectedly against the ruler. The armies encountered each other at the mouth of the Onon river, near Küken Buira, and a battle ensued. The ruler's army was commanded by Törölji Taishi of the Oirads, Jelme Noyan of the Uryang Khans, and by the son of Kiluken Baghatur¹⁴⁹ of the Smuids, whose name was Tudai Tsarbi. These three fought valiantly, conquered Unk Khagan, and subjected the numerous Keraites."¹⁵⁰

From Mirkhond as well as other Moslem authors it appears that the defeat alluded to in the just-quoted passage took place A.D. 1203; they are, however, just as reticent about the religion of Unk Khan as Ssanang Ssetsen; and Rashid-al-din seems to form the only exception among them. Already St-Martin¹⁵¹ has taken the trouble to collect all the passages bearing on this subject, and says, "Many persons have doubted that Christianity had ever been propagated among the Mongol conquerors of China and of Persia, in spite of the numerous testimonies produced by Assemani, Mosheim, and other scholars. They fancied that Oriental Christians, from whom all the facts supporting this opinion originated, had endeavoured to flatter themselves by exaggerating the indulgence shown to them by some Tatar princes. Without wishing to show that the princes of the race of Chenghiz

¹⁴⁷ p. 383.

¹⁴⁸ Mirkhond, vol. V., p. 117, also states that Unk was for seven years subject to Chenghiz:—

چذگین خان مدتی هفت سال در عیالزمت اونک خان بسر برد و بود

¹⁴⁹ *Baghatur*, afterwards converted in Persian to *Bahadur*, is a Mongol word often occurring in Ssanang Ssetsen—pp. 60, 62, 70, 74, 82, 194, 196, 258, &c.

¹⁵⁰ p. 87.

¹⁵¹ *Mém. hist. et géogr. sur l'Afghanistan*, t. II., p. 279.

Khan had ever professed the Christian religion, and without adducing in this place a great number of passages already known and tending to prove that Christianity, which had already spread in the interior of Asia, had penetrated also among the Mongols, I shall indicate some others proving the same thing and coming from a Musalman writer, whose authority in a case of this kind cannot be gainsaid. It was said that Wang [Onk] Khan, king of the Keraites, one of the most remote Mongol tribes, had been a Christian; Rashid al-din (fol. 32 *recto*) says more,—he states that the doctrine of Jesus had penetrated as far as the Keraites, and that they had embraced his religion: دعوت عيسى عليه السلام بايشان رسیده و بدین وی در آمدند اند. The same author (f. 28 *verso*.) informs us that Kadak and Tchinghay, the ministers of [the Grand Khan] Kuyuk were both Christians, and that they invited to the court a great number of priests from Syria, from Asia Minor, from the country of the Alains, and from Russia. He says also (fol. 233 *recto*) that the empress Siurkukteni-Biky, niece of the king of the Keraites and mother of Kuyuk, showed much indulgence and kindness towards the Musalman Emāms and Sheikhs, *although she was a Christian*: هر چند تابع و مقوي ملت عيسوي بود. Further on (p. 273), when speaking of Dukuz-Khātūn,—the wife of Hulagu Khān,—who was likewise of the Kerait nation, he is careful to repeat that this whole nation was Christian, اقوام كرايت در اصل عيسوي اند, and that Hulagu had, for the sake of his wife, caused all the churches of the Christians in his empire to be rebuilt. There was one at the gate of the palace of Dukuz-Khātūn; and everywhere Christians enjoyed the right to ring bells. It is probable that a more attentive examination of the work of Rashid-al-din would have made us acquainted with several other passages on the same subject." As one volume only of this celebrated work, containing the life of Hulagu Khan, has been published in the *Collection Orientale*, and the author of this paper had no access to any other parts of it, he was very glad to meet with the just-quoted extract.

Chenghiz Khan, who kept about five hundred wives, may have had not only one but several Christian ladies among them; as, however, authors are at variance about their names,¹⁵² it will be better not to say

¹⁵² Thus *Jaur Bighi*—Unk Khan's daughter, whom Juji the son of Chenghiz was to have married, and the union falling through led to the breach between the two chiefs (Yule's *Marco Polo*, p. 210)—is called *Bikutmesah* by Rashid-al-din, *Coll. Or.*, p. 91; whilst D'Ohsson, in his *Hist. des Mongols*, t. I., p. 67, calls her *Tchaour Bigui*.

anything even about those who are known, and it will suffice to state that according to Abulfaraj¹⁵³ his chief spouse, Owisunjun Beghi, gave birth to the following four sons :—Juji,¹⁵⁴ Chagatai, Ogotai, and Tului. The testimony that Chenghiz Khan favoured Christians is not very strong, and was given long after his death by prince Sempad, high constable of Armenia, in 1246 ; it is as follows :—“ I tell you that we have found many Christians scattered all over the East, and many fine churches, lofty and ancient, and of good architecture, which have been spoiled by the Turks. Hence the Christians came to the presence of the reigning Khan's grandfather [*i.e.* Chenghiz] ; he received them most honourably, and granted them liberty of worship, and issued orders to prevent their having any just complaint by word or deed. And so the Saracens, who used to treat them with contempt, have now the like treatment in double measure.”

After Chenghiz had defeated Unk Khan and enlarged his dominions, Tayang Khan, the king of the Naymans, jealous of his increasing power, was desirous to break it, but fell in battle, and his favourite wife, Keurbasson, was married by Chenghiz. In the same battle the Mongols captured the chancellor of Tayang, named Tatatungo, an Oigur by nation, with whom they found the royal seal. Chenghiz asked the use of it, and Tatatungo replied, “ Whenever my master was desirous of raising money or grain, or of giving a commission to one of his subjects, he caused this seal to be affixed to his orders, to impart to them the impress of authority.” Hereupon Chenghiz desired him to keep the seal, and to teach his sons the Oigur language and writing, as well as the customs of that nation, which being recorded in books were to be consulted by the descendants of Chenghiz when an emergency occurred.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ تاریخ مختصر الدول ed. and transl. of Pococke, p. 280.

¹⁵⁴ Called also *Tushi* by some Moslem authors, *e.g.* in the طبقات ناصري p. 379 Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.

¹⁵⁵ چون اقوام مغول از خط نوشتن عاری و عاقل بودند فرمانداد تا بعضی از فرزندان ایشان خط ایغوری بیاموزند و آن را با قوانین در دفاتر ثبت کردند و در خزانه محفوظ و مضبوط گردانیدند که هر وقت که خانی بر تخت نشیند یا حادثه عظیم روی نماید پادشاه زادگان جمعیتی سازند و آن طوهارها حاضر کنند و بنای کار بر یا ساق نهند

Mirkhond, vol. V., p. 19.

This introduction of Oigur writing is confirmed by Klapproth, *Mém. relat. a*

Tatatungo indeed brought the Oigur alphabet, but neither Christian nor Buddhist ideas, to the Mongols, among whom he enjoyed the same high position as formerly under his own sovereign, but professed the religion, or rather superstition, current among the peoples of Northern Asia as well as among his own nation, and still to some extent surviving in our times, namely *Shamanism*. Afterwards the Mongols were converted to Buddhism, to which they became indebted for the civilization they attained, and which so powerfully as well as decisively influenced them that it seems to be almost incomprehensible how the savage Mongols, who were accustomed to massacre whole populations in order to secure their rear from enemies, zealously submitted to a religion inculcating gentleness and kindness towards all created beings, and how a nation that loved to raze cities to the ground, and to convert cultivated plains into deserts to obtain pastures, should have eagerly built temples, established convents, introduced useful institutions, and practised religious duties. This metamorphosis may surely be considered as an evidence that virtue, even without that perfection which ought to accompany the highest development of it, is nevertheless capable of preponderating over vice, and that good overcomes evil.

CHENGHIZ PROCLAIMS HIMSELF EMPEROR.

After having subjugated the nomadic Tatar races, Temujin considered it necessary to assume a title worthy of the power he had acquired. Accordingly he convoked, in the spring of 1206, near the sources of the river Onon, a great Diet or *Kuriltai* composed of the chiefs of all the tribes, and erected a standard consisting of nine white streamers, to represent the colours of the five Mongol and the four Oirad tribes which had now become one. A certain Kám or soothsayer named Gökju, who enjoyed great authority among the Mongols, and often spoke to them in the name of the Deity, solemnly declared on this occasion to Temujin that after having vanquished and destroyed various sovereigns bearing the name of *Gurk Khan*, *i.e.* Grand Khan, it would

l'Asie, t. II., p. 328 :—" We know that the Nestorian sect had spread among the Oigurs, especially by missionaries coming from Syria, who also introduced the Syriac alphabet, whence the Oigur letters are derived. This is also the statement of Abulfaraj in his *Syriac Chronicle*, Ass., *Bibl. Or.*, t. III., pt. II., p. 470. Col. Yule, in his *Cathay*, vol. I., p. 205, is also of the same opinion, and moreover believes that not only the Oigur but also the Turk writing was derived from the Syriac alphabet, as may be seen from the transactions between ○ in the Crimea and the Mongol princes of Soldaya (Sudak), which were written being called *Lingua ugarisca*

not be proper for him to assume a title whose splendour was tarnished, and that heaven commanded him to adopt the title of Chenchiz Khan, *i.e.* 'The Khan of the strong.'¹⁵⁶ This advice having been approved of by the heads of the tribes, Temujin was saluted by all as *Chenghiz Khagan*. According to Abulfaraj,¹⁵⁷ however, this event took place in the Greek year (*i.e.* Alexander's era) 1514 (from which A. D. 1203 is obtained by subtracting 311); the same author also states that on this occasion Temujin assumed the title of *Chenghiz Khan Tubt Tangri*, and made a speech in which he said, "God has spoken to me and said, 'I have given the whole earth to Temujin and his posterity, and have named him Chenchiz Khan.'"

Although no reliable evidence exists to show with certainty whether Chenchiz was partial¹⁵⁸ either to the Christian or Muhammadan religion,—in spite of the testimonies of old authors, who respectively advanced statements according to their own profession of the one or the other,—it is evident from what follows that he was bold enough to bring on the destruction of a representative of his own, *i.e.* of Shamanism. When, namely, the Kám Gökju, surnamed *But Tangri*, or 'image of God,'—who had become overbearing in consequence of the authority he enjoyed among the Mongols, whom he had persuaded that he went often to heaven on a piebald horse,¹⁵⁹—spoke on all kinds of subjects with such freedom to Chenchiz as to incur his displeasure; and as the Kám was desirous to show his influence, Chenchiz,

¹⁵⁶ *Chengh* means 'strong' in Mongolian, and *ghiz* is the plural affix. It has already been observed that Kaán is the contraction of Khagán, this being the title of the Eastern Mongol emperors, whilst the Western or Persian ones, who were their vassals, are called simply Khans.

¹⁵⁷ *تاریخ مختصر الدول* ed. and transl. Pococke, Oxon, 1683, p. 280.

¹⁵⁸ The Chenchizide princes were eminently liberal—or indifferent—to religion; and even after they became Muhammadans—which, however, the Eastern branch never did—they were rarely, and only by brief fits, persecutors. Hence there was scarcely one of the non-Muhammadan Khans of whose conversion to Christianity there were not stories spread. The first rumours of Chenchiz in the West were as of a Christian conqueror; tales may be found of the Christianity of Chagatai, Ilagui, Abaka, Arghun, Baidu, Ghazan, Sartak, Kuyuk, Mangu, Kublai, and one or two of the latter's successors in China, all probably false, with one or two doubtful exceptions.—Yule's *Marco Polo*, footnote 3 to p. 23.

¹⁵⁹ This going to heaven on horseback may be a Muhammadan idea, and although there are Moslems who believe Muhammad's ascension to have been only a vision, there are numberless others who consider it a reality; in Bombay it is an article of the religion, and the author of this paper has a nice picture of the celebrated horse *Borak*, on which the Prophet performed this journey; it is sold framed and glazed in the bazar. This celebrated steed is represented with a human head, but a peacock's tail.

who stood no longer in need of the impostor's credit, ordered his son Juji to kill him the first time he again came to the camp to retail his impertinences. Shortly afterwards the priest arrived on a visit to Chenghiz Khan, and began, as was his custom, to harangue him, whereupon Juji kicked Gökju out of the imperial tent and slew him. Mingalik, the father of Gökju, was the chief of a thousand Mongols of the Kongokotan tribe, and Chenghiz had given him his own mother, Uun Iga, for a wife, had always treated him with distinction, and placed him on his right side above all his officers. Mingalik happened to be present at the scene just described, and picked up his son's bonnet, not thinking that his life was in danger; on being, however, apprised it had been taken, he remained quiet and as attached to Chenghiz Khan as ever; three others of his sons were also commanders of a thousand.

Chenghiz Khan invaded Tangut—which had failed to pay the tribute agreed upon—for the second time in 1207, when he ravaged a portion of the country, and in 1209 for the third time; but in the month of March in 1211 he left the banks of the river Kerulan in order to attack China. On this occasion he was accompanied by his four sons, Juji, Chagatai, Ogotai, and Tului. Rashid-al-din, the author of the *Jāmi-ah-tauhid-i-kāfi*, states that before undertaking this expedition Chenghiz implored the aid of heaven on the top of a high mountain, and uttered the following prayer on his knees:—"O eternal God! I am armed to avenge the blood of my uncles Berkan and Hembokai, whom the Alramikhuns¹²⁹ caused ignominiously to die. If thou approvest of me, grant me from on high the aid of thy arm, and command here beneath all men, as well as the good and the wicked genii, to unite for my assistance." Allusion to a similar prayer of Chenghiz, in which he had a vision of a Christian bishop, has already been made above from the account of Abulfaraj; but, considering the disposition of the proud and cruel conqueror, the one would appear to be as unworthy of credit as the other.

The fourth invasion of Tangut took place in 1218, and the capital being about to be invested by the Mongols its sovereign took refuge in the province now called Lean-cheu-fu. Then Chenghiz Khan turned his attention to Gutcluk, son of the last Khan of the Naimans, who had occupied for six years the throne of the Khara-Khitai, which he had usurped.

¹²⁹ A title adopted by the Kien emperors of China.

It has been narrated above how Chenghiz had defeated and slain Tayang Khan ; now, however, his son Gutchluk was desirous to subjugate Ozar, the Khan of Almalig. He marched against him more than once, and at last, surprising him in the chase, he captured him and had him slain. Gutchluk liberated the son of the Khan of Kashgar, whom the Gur Khan had imprisoned, and sent him back to his country, but the young prince was killed when he arrived at the gates of Kashgar. In order to reduce this country, Gutchluk sent troops to ravage it at harvest time ; he caused these devastations to be repeated during the next two or three years, at the end of which the inhabitants were by famine compelled to submit.

It is important in this place to notice that although Gutchluk was educated in the Christian religion, which the greatest portion of the Nayman nation professed, he abjured it at the instigation of his wife and embraced Buddhism. Accordingly when he had by force of arms subjugated Khotan, he desired the inhabitants to abandon Islam, and to take their choice between Christianity and Buddhism. Being even ready to demonstrate the falsity of their creed, he convoked the Musalman clergy in a plain under the walls of the city, and issued a proclamation that any one willing to dispute with him on that religion had only to present himself. Accordingly A'la-al-din Muhammad, the chief Emán, approached Gutchluk and warmly defended Islam ; and when the Khan, irritated by his resistance, uttered in his wrath insults against the Prophet, the indignant Emán shouted, " May earth cover thy tongue, O enemy of the true religion ! " Hereupon he was seized by order of Gutchluk, who, after having tortured him in vain to force him to abjure Islam, had him crucified on the door of his college. From that time he made it his business to persecute the Moslems in his dominions.

Chenghiz Khan was not inclined to allow the son of his old foe to enjoy peaceably the throne he had usurped. When Chenghiz marched towards the west, he detached in 1218 (A.H. 615) a corps of twenty thousand men against Gutchluk ; the latter fled to Kashgar at the approach of Noyán Techebeh, who on entering the city proclaimed liberty of worship to all religions, whereupon the inhabitants instantly massacred the soldiers of Gutchluk in their lodgings, whilst the Mongols went in pursuit of Gutchluk himself, whom they captured and slew in the mountains of Badakhshan.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ D'Ohsson, t. I., p. 172.

Now the dominions of the Mongol sovereign extended over the Khara-Khitai possessions, to which, as has been seen, also the provinces of Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan belonged, whose (mostly Muhammadan) populations were agricultural. The states of Chenghiz Khan now bounded those of Sultán Muḥammad of Khovarezṁ, and the Mongol conqueror soon found reasons, or at least plausible pretexts, for attacking his new neighbour, whose flourishing empire presented a rich harvest to the cupidity of the Tatar hordes.

EXPEDITION AGAINST BOKHARA.

The invasion of the Muhammadan countries governed by Sultán Muḥammad of Khovarezṁ, but especially of Bokhara, was resolved on already in 1218, immediately after the death of Gutchluk, in an assembly of the chief relatives and officers of Chenghiz Khan, but he marched from the banks of the Irtish only in the autumn of 1219, and arrived at Bokhara in March 1220. The troops immediately took up positions around the city, which was defended by twenty thousand men, and they assaulted it incessantly for several days, at the end of which the garrison defending it lost all hope of being able to retain the place, and resolved to make a sortie in the night and to break through the army of the enemy to save their lives. According to D'Ohsson¹⁶² this project was carried out, and the Mongols being attacked actually fled, but as the Moslems did not pursue them they soon rallied, overtook them near the Oxus and slew them all. Abulfaraj¹⁶³ agrees with him, but states only that as the garrison was unable to stand the siege it fled after sunset, was perceived by the Mongol outposts, pursued to the Oxus, there overtaken and slaughtered.

The city being now denuded of defenders and entirely at the mercy of the Mongols, a deputation consisting of the Emáms and the nobles came out the next day to pay homage to Chenghiz Khan, who immediately proceeded to the town, and entering the great mosque on horseback exclaimed, "This is the palace of the Sultán!" The people replied, however, "No, it is the Khanahi Yazdán (house of God)." Hereupon he dismounted, ascended the pulpit, and said, "There is no provender in your fields; feed our horses from what you have in your barns!" Accordingly the people went and brought forth all the grain they had in their magazines; whereupon the Mongols carried all

¹⁶² D'Ohsson, t. I., p. 228.

¹⁶³ تاريخ محمدرا الدول ed. Pococke, p. 290.

the boxes which were filled with Kuráns from the mosque into the courtyard to serve as mangers for the horses, which trampled under their feet the sacred volumes of the Moslems.¹⁶⁴ The barbarians also deposited their wine-skins in the centre of the mosque, and brought from the town dancing men and women. Whilst the Mongols abandoned themselves in the mosque to feasting, to debauchery, and to rejoicings, the chief inhabitants of the city, the doctors of the law, and the heads of the religion were compelled to wait on them like slaves, and to attend also to their horses.

After the expiration of a couple of hours Chenghiz Khan proceeded from the town to the open plain, where he had ordered the inhabitants of Bokhara to assemble, and where they had been accustomed to hold public prayers on solemn occasions. He ascended the pulpit and asked the richest persons in all that multitude to be pointed out. Accordingly 260 wealthy men were shown to him, to whom he stated the reasons which had forced him to declare war against the Sultan, and said, "You have committed great faults, and the chiefs of the people are the most criminal. If you ask why I speak thus to you, I reply that I am the scourge of God, and that if you were not great criminals God would not have sent me upon you;" and whatever else Chenghiz Khan said in the Mongol language his chamberlain Dáneshmend interpreted to the people in Persian. All the riches of the wealthy inhabitants were extorted from them, each placed under a Mongol guard, and daily brought at sunrise to the tent of Chenghiz Khan. At last the Mongol troops received orders to surround the inhabitants of Bokhara and to divide them among themselves. "This," says the historian Ebn-al-Athir, "was a terrible day, and nothing but lamentations and sighs of the men, women, and children, to be separated from each other for ever, were being heard." The barbarians assailed the chastity of the women in public, as the unfortunate people were unable to repel any of the misfortunes which overwhelmed them, and had no other refuge but tears. Many preferred death to being spectators of these horrors, and among them were Káfi Bedr-al-din, and the Emám Rukn-al-din with his son, who, having become witnesses of the dishonour of their wives, caused themselves to be slain fighting. Bokhara was sacked, burnt, and razed to the ground.

¹⁶⁴ اوراق مصحف مجید درمیان قزورات افتاده لذكوب دواپ

Mirkhond, vol. V., p. ۲۷ كشت

After devastating Ma-vara-al-nahr, *i.e.* Transoxiana, Chenghiz Khan despatched his sons to do the same work in Khovarezm. The horrible slaughter committed in Bokhara, Samarkand, Balkh, and in nearly every other place taken, is perhaps the most convincing proof that these wolfish and bloodthirsty fiends were void of all religious sentiments. Their usual custom was to drive all the inhabitants in herds out of a city as soon as it was taken, to surround them, and to massacre them, even to the number of thirty or forty thousand at once, after picking out some handsome women, some artizans, and other persons whose services could be utilized. The city being thus emptied of its people and wealth was set on fire. In the taking of Tirmed a woman was about to be slain, but pleaded for mercy, and confessed that she had swallowed some pearls, which she would give her captors if they consented to spare her life, whereupon they immediately ripped open not only herself, but all the persons whom they had killed, and they made it a practice ever afterwards.¹⁶⁵

Tului, the youngest son of Chenghiz Khan, who had greatly aided him as a general, was just as cruel as himself. Tului being at the sack of Merv informed that many persons had, in order to save their lives, concealed themselves among the dead, ordered, after the taking of Nishapur on the 7th of April 1221 (12th Çafar 618), the heads of all the victims of his fury to be cut off, so that all who laid themselves down among them might at once be recognized as alive, and slain. Of these heads three pyramids were constructed, one consisting of skulls of men, the second of women, and the third of children. The razing of the town occupied fifteen days, and when it was completed barley was sown on its site. When the Mongols took Herat, on the 4th of June 1222 (2nd of Jomáda anterior 619), they are said to have slaughtered more than a million and a half of the population, and their work of pillaging, burning, and demolishing lasted a whole week without intermission. Thus it may be seen how an avenging Nemesis abundantly repaid the Moslems for the great persecutions they had practised on the Zoroastrians when they destroyed the Sasanian dynasty, subjugated Persia by fire and sword, and thrust Islam on the whole population.

165 عورتی را مغولان گرفته خواستند که بکشند گفت که بر من ایضا کنی
تا در عوض حیات مروارید بزرگی بشما دهم گفتند کجاست گفت
فروبرده ام فی الحال شکم او را شکافته مروارید را بدست آوردند

وبدین موجب شکم تمام کشتگانرا چاک ساختند Mirkhond.

In 1223 Chenghiz Khan resolved to return to Mongolia, not having advanced on the road to India further than Peshawur; but his general Balla Noyan crossed the Ganges, besieged Multan, and was near taking it when the terrible heat forced him to rejoin his master, not, however, without devastating the localities through which he passed.¹⁶⁶ It is rather hard to believe that Chenghiz Khan should have placed much faith in vaticination from shoulder-blades of sheep, as some authors assert, and that the unfavourable omen obtained from this silly operation should have been the reason which prevented him from invading India.¹⁶⁷

After having crossed the mountains of Bamian on his return march, Chenghiz Khan spent the summer in the region of Bakalan, where his baggage had remained, but continued his march in autumn. When he again arrived in Balkh, the inhabitants who had returned to it came out to meet him with presents and offered him homage, but he distrusted their loyalty, distributed a portion of them among his troops, and slew the rest of them, without regarding their sex or age; he also razed all the buildings to the ground.¹⁶⁸ The people who still survived in this province had within the space of one year been reduced to feed on dogs and cats, as the Mongols, who needed only pasturages for their herds, the flesh and milk of which formed their ordinary diet, had destroyed all the harvests of the country, so that the inhabit-

۱۶۶ بلا نویان بمحاصره مشغول شد و مجانیق نصب کردند و بزحم سنگ بعضی از دیوارهای شهر بیذاختند و نزدیک بان رسید که مولتان مفتوح گردد اما بسبب شدت حرارت هوا وعدم مصابرة مغول بر کرما آن بلا از ایشان منافع شد و بلا نویان از ظاهر شهر مولتان کوچ کرده در تمام ولایت و مضائق لاهور کشش وغارت کرد و بعد از این افعال نکوهیده مراجعت نموده بچنگیز خان پیوست

Mirkhond, vol. V., p. ۳۴

۱۶۷ بجهت آمدن بطرف هندوستان شانه می سوخت اجازت نمی یافت و علامات نصرة بر زمین هندوستان نمی دید
Tabakāt-i-Nāṣiri, Bibl. Ind., p. ۳۷۵

۱۶۸ ایشانرا بر لشکریان قسمة نموده پیر و برنارا بتیغ یاسا بکذرائید و از عمارات رفیع و اجیهه منیع اثر نکذاشت و همه بلخرا چون کف دست کرد
Mirkhond, *ibid.*

ants who had escaped other kinds of death were, after the departure of the barbarians, in danger of perishing by famine.

When Chenghiz Khan was in Bokhara he ordered the Çadr Jehán to send him some one well acquainted with the Muhammadan religion. This magistrate sent him the Kádi Ashref and a preacher. Chenghiz Khan induced the two doctors to explain to him the chief dogmas and precepts of Islam. He approved of them, but observed concerning the pilgrimage to Mekkah that as the whole world is the house of God prayers could reach him from any place in it; for this reason the preacher would not consider Chenghiz Khan to be a Moslem, but the Kádi believed him to be one.¹⁶⁹ On his arrival at Samarkand the

۱۶۹ گفت شخص که بیوسون ویاسای شما نیک عارف بود پیش من فرست قاضی اشرف و یکی از واعظانرا صدر جهان پیش چنگیز خان فرستاد و خان از ایشان پرسید که عقیده شما و راه و رسم مسلمانی چیست گفتند مسلمانان آفرید کار را یکانه بی مثل و مانند میدانند چنگیز خان گفت مرا درین اعتقاد اعتدای نیست و باز از اوضاع شریعة استفسار نموده گفتند الله تعالی و تقدس ایلچی با یرلیغ و ابایزه و امر و نواهی ببندگان فرستاد تا ایشانرا امر بر خیر و نهی از شر نماید این را نیز مستحسن داشت و گفت که من بنده خدایم هر روز ایلچیان امر و نهی ببلاد عباد میفرستم و صد تکلیف شاق بر لشکریان میکنم گفتند چند وقت نماز فرموده که بگذارند و در آنوقت از غیر تیرا نموده پرستش او قیام نمایند این معنی را نیز پسندیده داشت گفتند فرموده که در سالی یکماه روزه دارید گفت رواست چون یازده ماه بغفلت میخورند یکماه بحساب خورند تا قدر نعمت خداوند بشناسند گفتند از بیست دینار یک دینار مقرر شده که هر سال توانگران بمحتاجان و درویشان دهند این حسنه را مدحها گفته بر زبان گذرانید که خدای جاوید روزی مردم بافراط و تفریط آفریده است چون زیادتیی زید بعمر دهند تساوی و تعادل حاصل آید گفتند بندگان مامور بآن شده اند که بخانه خدا روند مشروط بآنکه استطاعة داشته باشند چنگیز خان گفت مجموع عالم خانه خداست از جمله اطراف جهان بوی توان رسید و از آنجا راه بحق همان است که از آن خانه لیکن او خواسته است که مردم مالها را فرونی مصحوب خویش ساخته بامید ثواب بر فقرا و درویشان و ارباب احتیاج نفقه کنند و نام نیک ایشان تا قیامة در میان خرویشان باقی ماند چون آن دو دانشمند پیش صدر جهان آمدند قاضی اشرف

nobles of that city came out to meet him, and Chenghiz Khan ordered them—in consequence of the victory he said God had given him over their king—to hold public prayers in his name, to pray for him and to praise him.¹⁷⁰ At their demand he exempted the *Kādīs* and *Emāms* from the taxes they had hitherto paid, which was no doubt a good stroke of policy, and so advantageous that it was imitated in later times by other conquerors.

Chenghiz remained during the whole winter of 1223 in the country of Samarkand, and when he continued his march, after the spring had set in, he ordered that whilst his army was passing, the mother, the wives and relatives of Sultān Muḥammad should all stand on the road and bid, in a loud voice with protracted groanings and lamentations, their last farewell to the Khovarezmian empire. On the banks of the river Sihun, Chagatai and Ogotai, who had during the winter been hunting in Bokhara, joined their father, Chenghiz Khan, who had spent a portion of the summer of 1224 in the district of Kolan-Tushi. Juji had not joined his father, but by his orders immense herds of game, chiefly consisting of wild asses, had been driven to the vicinity of Kolan-Tushi, where Chenghiz Khan enjoyed the pleasures of the chase. After him his troops amused themselves in hunting these animals, which were so fatigued with their long march that they could be taken by hand. Chenghiz Khan spent the remainder of the summer and winter of 1224 on his homeward march, where two of his grandsons, namely Kubilai and Hulagu,—the former being eleven, and the latter only nine years old,—whose reigns became celebrated, met him at the river Imil, the ancient frontier of the Naimans and Oigurs; further on he gave his army a grand entertainment in a place called Buka Sin-hiku, and at last reached his Urdus, *i.e.* encampments, in the month of February 1225.

Meanwhile Tchebel and Subutai, two generals of Chenghiz Khan, devastated Persia, marched through Asia Minor, invaded the immense plains of the Kipchaks, which stretch along the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus, and the northern shores of the Black Sea. Then these barbarians entered Russia, where they met with no resistance. On the

چنگیز خانرا در زمردی مسلمانان میسود و واعظ بجهت انکار حج

اورا از دین بیکانه داشت Mirkhond, vol. V., p. ۴۰

گفت که خدای بزرگی مرا بر بادشاه شما مقرداده اورا مقهور

و محذول گرداید ناید که زبان بدعاء و نداء عا بکشاید Thirion.

approach of the Mongols, the inhabitants of Novogorod and Sviatopol, being unable to offer any resistance, came out to meet them, bearing crucifixes and imploring mercy ; they were, however, all slaughtered to the number of ten thousand. From the banks of the Dnieper the Mongols proceeded to ravage the countries which surround the Sea of Azof, and penetrated into the Crimea, where they took possession of the opulent city of Sudak,¹⁷¹ which belonged to the Genoese but paid tribute to the Kipchaks, and was at that time the emporium of commerce for the countries situated to the north and south of the Black Sea. Abandoning the western countries, the Mongols invaded, towards the end of 1223 (A.H. 620), the country of the Bulgars.¹⁷²

Chenghiz Khan had scarcely arrived in his Urdus when he was apprised of the death of his eldest son, Juji. This prince, who had received orders to conquer the regions north of the Caspian and of the Black Sea, had not even attempted to execute them. Irritated by this disobedience, Chenghiz Khan had, during his march from Persia to Tartary, several times commanded him to come, but Juji pleaded sickness as his excuse, and was indeed unwell. When the conqueror had reached his Urdus, a Mongol arrived from the country of Juji, who on being asked about news concerning that prince, replied that he had seen him hunting and quite well. Chenghiz no longer doubted that Juji purposely refused to obey ; accordingly he believed him to be either a rebel or a fool, and resolved in his anger to reduce him to obedience. Ogotai and Chagatai had already departed with the vanguard, and their father was getting ready to follow them, when the news of the death of Juji arrived. Chenghiz Khan was much affected, and subsequent information proved that the report of the Mongol, who had seen only the officers of Juji, was a false one ; he was to be punished, but could not be found.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Soldaia, called by Orientals Súdák, is on the south-east coast of the Crimea, west of Kaffa. It was taken by the Mongols in 1222.—Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I., p. 4, footnote 1.

¹⁷² The region, sometimes called Great Bulgaria, had Bolgar for its capital, which stood a few miles from the left bank of the Volga, in lat. about 54° 54', and 90 miles below Kazan. Russian chroniclers speak of an earlier capital of the Bulgarian kingdom, which may have been the city referred to in earlier Arabic accounts. The fullest of these is by Ebn Feqlan, who accompanied an embassy from the court of Bagh'dád to Bolgar A.D. 921. The king and people had about this time been converted to Islam, having previously, it would seem, professed Christianity. Nevertheless a Muhammadan writer of the 14th century says that the people had long renounced Islam for the worship of the Cross. See Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I., p. 4, footnote 2, and *Notices et Extraits*, t. XIII., p. 270.

¹⁷³ D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, ed. 1834, t. I. p. 353.

According to the statement of Abu O'mar Minhāj-al-din, author of the *Tabakāt-i-Naqiri*, the prince Juji, whom he calls Tushi, had arrived in the Kibchāk country and intended to slay his own father, Chenghiz, to prevent further conquests, and to get an opportunity of settling himself there, but the plot was betrayed by his brother Chagatai, and Juji was poisoned by order of Chenghiz Khan.¹⁷⁶ Juji was at the time of his death only thirty years old, but left nearly forty children, which he had begotten with his numerous wives and concubines; he followed no religion whatever, but believed in God.¹⁷⁸

Whilst Chenghiz Khan had been devastating Persia, his lieutenant-general Mukuli had conquered Northern China, but died in 1223, aged fifty-four years, in the canton of Ven-hi, belonging to the district of Seh-cheu, whereupon his son Boru became commander-in-chief for the provinces conquered from China.

At the end of 1225 Chenghiz Khan again invaded Tangut. His third son, Ogotai, had, with the corps of the general Chagan, advanced as far as *Nan-king*, and sent General Tang-tsing there to demand the annual tribute from the emperor in the year 1227. Chagan took the majority of the forts in the district of Sin-gan-fu, where the celebrated inscription may still be seen, and where flourishing Christian churches existed in the 7th century.¹⁷⁶

It is more probable that Chenghiz Khan used Chinese money, but it is worth mentioning in this place that in "The Chronicles of the

ازین اندیشه برادرش چغتای را خبر شد پدر را ازین خبر و
اندیشه برادر و عزيمة او خبر داد چنگیزخانرا چون معلوم شد
معمدان خود را فرستاد تا توشي را زهر دادند و بکشتند p. ۳۷۹

او بمقد هیچ دین و مذهبی نبود و بغیر از شیوة یزدان پرستی
چیزی نمی دانست p. ۴۲ Mirkhond, vol. V., p.

¹⁷⁶ See footnote 2 to p. 14 of Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I. The words of Marco Polo himself about the city of Sin-gan-fu, which was in his time called Ken-jan-fu, are as follows:—"A very great and fine city it is, and the capital of the kingdom of Ken-jan-fu, which in old times was a noble, rich, and powerful realm, and had many great and wealthy and puissant kings. But now the king thereof is a prince called Mangalai, the son of the Great Khan, who hath given him this realm, and crowned him king thereof. It is a city of great trade and industry. They have great abundance of silk, from which they weave cloths of silk and gold of diverse kinds, and they manufacture also all sorts of equipments for an army. They have every necessary of man's life very cheap. The city lies towards the west; the people are idolaters; and outside of the city is the place of the prince Mangalai, crowned king, and son of the Great Khan, as I told you before."

Pathán kings of Delhi, London, 1871," E. Thomas gives on p. 91 the facsimile of a silver coin now in the India Museum, purporting to be of Chenghiz Khan, and with his name on the obverse as follows:—
 العادل الاعظم چنگيز خان and the reverse الفاروق لدين الله
 امير المؤمنين and the legends of two other coins which do not bear his name, but have the same reverse; accordingly we have him here thrice represented as "The aider of the religion of Allah, Commander of the Believers," a title given only to Moslem sovereigns, just as that of "Defender of the Faith" is assumed only by those of Great Britain and Ireland.

When Nin-hia was besieged closely and in its last extremity, king Li-hien sent, in the month of July 1227, ambassadors to Chenghiz Khan, offering submission, and asking only for one month's delay to surrender the capital. Chenghiz consented and promised henceforth to consider him as his own son. He proceeded to pitch his camp in the district of Tsing-shui-hien, on the banks of the river Si-kiang, distant about twelve leagues east from the town of Tsin-tcheu; there, however, he was overtaken by a serious illness. On his deathbed Chenghiz Khan traced out to his chief officers the plan they were to follow in order to penetrate as far as Nan-king; he recommended at the same time to his generals, in case he should succumb, carefully to conceal his death, and at once to slay the king of Tangut as soon as he came out from his capital, according to the agreement entered into, and mentioned above, and also to massacre the whole population of Ning-hia. Thus Chenghiz signalized even his exit from the world by treachery and cruelty; and all his injunctions were faithfully executed by his generals.

Chenghiz Khan expired on the eighth day of his malady, on the 18th August 1227, in the twenty-second year of his reign and the sixty-sixth of his age; and the difference occurring in Mirkhond, who makes him seventy-three years old, and places his death in the twenty-fifth of his reign,¹⁷⁷ must at least partly be ascribed to the difference of the Muhammadan and the Christian calendar. After all, however, this author agrees with Abulfaraj and Ssetsen in the year 624, which corresponds to 1227, and his Ramadan of that year also agrees with our August.

Ssetsen appears to be the only author who attributes the death of

Chenghiz Khan to a violent cause,—except Carpini, who states that he was killed by lightning,—and, strangely enough, through the instrumentality of the widow of the just-mentioned king of Tangut, she having become the wife of Chenghiz Khan :—" In the following night [after the wedding], when the ruler [Chenghiz Khan] was asleep, *Kurbelgin Goa* did him some bodily harm, which made him weak and faint ; then she got up, went out, and threw herself into the Khara Müren [river], in which she was drowned."¹⁷⁸

The corpse of Chenghiz Khan was carried secretly to Mongolia, and, in order to hinder the news of his death from spreading, the troops of the *cortège* slew every person they encountered on their long line of march. This slaughter is alluded to as a regular custom by Marco Polo,¹⁷⁹ who says, " Let me tell you a strange thing too. When they are carrying the body of an emperor to be buried with the others, the convoy that goes with the body doth put to the sword all whom they fall in with on the road, saying, ' Go and wait upon your lord in the other world !' For they do in sooth believe that all such as they slay in this manner do go to serve their lord in the other world. They do the same, too, with horses ; for when the emperor dies they kill all his best horses, in order that he may have the use of them in the other world, as they believe. And I tell you as a certain truth that when Mangu Kaan died, more than twenty thousand persons, who chanced to meet the body on its way, were slain in the manner I have told." Rashid-al-din relates that in carrying Chenghiz to his burial, the escort slew all whom they met, and that forty noble and beautiful girls were despatched to serve him in the other world, as well as superb horses. As Mangu Khan died in the heart of China, any attempt to carry out this barbarous rule in his case would involve great slaughter.

A pious Buddhist, like Ssanang Ssetsen, who moreover entirely emasculated his whole *History of the Eastern Mongols* from every appearance of barbarism, as well as the cruelties, superstitious practices, and follies it necessarily entails, and who moreover thoroughly homologized it, as far as he possibly could, with his and their creed in the 17th century, could of course not mention the slaughter committed at

¹⁷⁸ Colonel Yule also gives this account, which, as he does not mention his source,—probably Ssanang Ssetsen,—cannot be taken as a corroboration. The colonel, however, adds that the Karamüren, i.e. Hoang-Ho [Yellow River], was called *Khaitün-gol*, or " Lady's River," to commemorate the event.

¹⁷⁹ p. 217.

the funerals of the emperors ; nevertheless his account of that of Chenghiz, fanciful as it may be, is worth inserting, and is very creditable to him in so far as he has, in spite of his Buddhist predilections, abstained from introducing priests and religious ceremonies into it, which he might easily have done ; by forbearing to do this he has at least shown that he tried to be as impartial as it was possible to be to a descendant of Chenghiz and a Buddhist. His account^{179a} is as follows :—

“ The corpse of the master was placed on a two-wheeled wagon in order to be conveyed to his home ; the entire great nation accompanied it with shouts of lamentation and weeping. Then also *Kiluken Baghat-ur*, of the Sunid [tribe], raised his voice, and sang as follows :—‘ Like a falcon hast thou soared ; now a creaking wagon must roll thee away. Thou, my master, hast really abandoned all thy subjects,—thou, my ruler ! As an eagle joyously circling, so hast thou also progressed—thou, my ruler ! Like an inexperienced foal hast thou been precipitated—thou, my ruler ! After sixty-six years of thy life thou wouldst have granted joy and peace to the nine colours of thy nation, and now thou leavest it—thou my ruler !’ Amidst such threnodies the *cortège* arrived in the region of the Mona [mountains], where the wheels of the car sank in the blue loamy soil, so that it stuck fast immoveably. As every effort to put the wagon in motion proved ineffectual, although the strongest horses among the five colours of the nation were harnessed to it, and the people began to be dejected, *Kiluken Baghat-ur*, of the Sunid, again raised his voice and sang, ‘ Lion of men, miraculously begotten by the blue eternal *Tegri*, thou *Tegri*-son *Bogda*-ruler !¹⁸⁰ Wilt thou abandon thy whole great nation and remain here alone ? My *Bogda* ! The spouse suitable to the sublime standpoint of thy birth ; the firmly established administration of the empire ; the executive power of thy laws ; thy faithfully adhering people—*all is there* ! Thy spouses befriended in love, thy golden palace, thy administration founded on right, the assembled people of thy subjects—*all is there* ! Thy native country, the water in which thou hast been washed, thy

^{179a} pp. 385 seq.

¹⁸⁰ *Bogdas* are higher beings either of a Buddhistic nature, or of the various degrees of the realm of spirits, which make their appearance in the corporeal world. This title is given not only to all the Buddhas and Bodhisatvas, but also to very high Lamas deemed to be saints, as well as to monarchs who promote the well-being of their subjects, because they are considered to be emanations of divine intelligences.—*Anmerkungen*, p. 301.

subjects, the prolific nation of the Mongols, thy numerous dignitaries, princes, and nobles, Deligun Buldak on the Onon, the place of thy birth—*all is there!* Thy standard prepared of tails of black stallions, the kettle-drums, gongs, trumpets, fifes, thy golden palace comprising within itself everything nameable, the grass plain on the Kerulan, this place where thou hast ascended the throne as Khagan of the Arulad [tribe]—*all is there!* Thy excellent spouse betrothed to thee in early youth, *Bürte Jurjin*, *Borkhatu-Khan*, thy happy country, and the great nation, *Boghorji* and *Mukhuli*, thy two confidential friends, thy administration and order of government perfect in all things—*all is there!* Thy *Khubilganian* spouse *Khulan Khátún*, thy lutes, flutes, and other musical instruments, thy two attractive spouses *Jissu* and *Jissuken*, thy golden palace, gathering-place of everything celebrated—*all is there!* Hast thou, because the region near the *Kharguna-Khan* [mountains] is warm, because the *Tungguds* conquered by thee are many, and because *Kürbeljin Khátún* is beauteous, really abandoned thy ancient Mongol people? Although we could not serve as a buckler of thy noble life, we shall nevertheless convey home thy remains, which are like the noble *Khas-gem*,¹⁵¹ show them to thy spouse *Bürte Jujin*, and fulfil the wishes of thy whole great nation? After the termination of this song it happened, as if the ruler had graciously complied with the request, that the wagon began to creak and to move, whereat the whole great nation was filled with joy, and accompanied the body of the Khagan to the great country of his home. Here the spouses and the children [of the ruler] met the funeral procession with a great retinue amidst weepings and lamentations with great mourning. As every endeavour to lift the noble corpse from the car proved fruitless, a monument was built over it for all time to come, and eight white houses were erected on the spot as places of invocation and veneration. In this manner the corpse of the ruler was disposed of in the region called *Yeke-ütek*, between the shady side of the Altai-Khan and the sunny side of the Kentel-Khan [mountains].”

The news of the death of Chenghiz Khan was not made public before the arrival of the funeral procession in his great Urdu near the sources of the river Kerulan, where his ancient territory was. The mortal remains of the conqueror were gradually deposited in the Urdu

¹⁵¹ This is the Mongol name of a stone highly esteemed in the East, and known by the name of ‘Oriental jet’ or ‘jade;’ it is by the Chinese and Tibetans called *Yu*.

of his chief wives, where from all the parts of his vast empire the princes and princesses of the blood, as well as the military chiefs, assembled at the invitation of Tului, to pay their last homage with protracted lamentations, but those who came from distant regions did not arrive before the expiration of three months. The statement of Ssetsen that the corpse could not be taken from the wagon is of course fabulous, but on the other hand there is also no positive evidence that the body of Chenghiz Khan was actually put into a grave and covered with earth. The locality where the corpse was interred or deposited under a tree was a forest in which afterwards several descendants of Chenghiz were likewise buried, and the guardianship of the tombs was for a long time entrusted to one thousand men of the Urianguit tribe. From the circumstance that perfumes and lamps were kept constantly burning before the images of the deceased princes, the conclusion is natural that the Mongols had merely imitated the Chinese, who observe the same usage in their ancestral temples.

As the statutes and precepts of Chenghiz Khan had by his orders been composed in the Mongol language but written in the Oigur characters, thus forming a collection of laws, called *Ulong-Yásá* or Great Commandments,¹⁸² which were carefully preserved in the archives of his descendants, they possessed well defined regulations concerning secular affairs, the laxity of Chenghiz Khan's religious ideas having probably impeded him from framing instructions for his successor concerning religious ones. He indeed believed in a Supreme Being, but worshipped the sun according to the gross practices of Shamanism; he exempted, however, from taxation also ministers of other religions, Christian monks, destitute persons, as well as physicians and learned men in general.¹⁸³ Chenghiz also sanctioned silly observances, and the foolish prohibition to void urine on water or fire; which is perhaps traceable to the immemorial belief in the sacredness of the so-called four elements, still surviving in Zoroastrianism, and formerly universal in the whole of Central Asia; this veneration was carried so far that even the hands were not to be dipped into flowing water, and clothes were not washed, but worn till they fell to pieces: which appears to

¹⁸² از برای ضبط ممالک و نظم مسالک و صلاح لشکر و فلاح رعایة
رسم و قاعدۀ چند وضع کرد و بر مقتضای رای و رویۀ خویش هر
کاربرا قانونی و هر گناهی را جزای معین کرد انید ۲۰
Mirkhond, vol. V., p. ۲۰

¹⁸³ D'Ohsson, t. I., p. 412.

be an exaggerated application of an injunction, salutary to nomadic tribes, to be sparing of water, which they generally carry about in their wanderings in skins, that can be replenished only when they happen to pass near streams. Chenghiz is, however, reported to have gone still further and to have forbidden anything to be called dirty, as according to his ideas all things were pure. Pallas¹⁸⁶ states that the prohibition to wash house utensils with water, cited as a law of Chenghiz Khan by Abulghazi, is still observed by the Kalmuks, who merely wipe them with dry grass or felt; the same is the case also with another of his ordinances, namely the slaughtering of animals by first tying their legs, ripping open their breasts, introducing the hand, and finally taking their life by pressing the heart.

It has already been mentioned above that Chenghiz Khan had five hundred wives and concubines. The first of all was Burta-Fu-Jin, daughter of Noyan Tayin, chief of the Kunkarat tribe, and mother of the four historical sons of Chenghiz, namely Juji, Chagatai, Ogotai, and Tului, as well as of five daughters, who were given in marriage to chiefs of tribes; besides the four sons just named, Chenghiz Khan had five others by various spouses.¹⁸⁸ Kulan, the second of his wives, was the daughter of a chief of the Merkites; the third and fifth, called Yissukat and Yissubun, were two Tatar sisters; but Gokju, the fourth in rank, was daughter of the Kin emperor: curiously enough, her name is the same as that of the Kám slain by Juji at the command of Chenghiz; and the mention of his wife, Kûrbeljin Goa, already mentioned above as having drowned herself, according to the account of Ssanang Ssetsen, is omitted from the list given by D'Ohsson.

Chenghiz Khan was connected also with Unk Khan by marriage ties, discussed before, and it will suffice in this place to add that, according to D'Ohsson,¹⁸⁶ when Chenghiz was one night sleeping in the habitation of the daughter of Jugambu, niece of Unk Khan, Abika,¹⁸⁷ whom he had married, he was troubled by a terrible dream. On awaking he told the princess that he had always been contented with her, but that he had just now been commanded by God in a dream to give her to another man. Accordingly he presented her to an officer who was that night on guard before the tent. As Chenghiz Khan had

¹⁸⁶ *Sammlungen hist. Nachrichten*, t. I., p. 131.

¹⁸⁸ *Mirkhond*, vol. V., p. ۱۹ دیگر داشت چار پسر پنج بغیر از این چار پسر پنج

¹⁸⁶ *Histoire des Mongols*, t. I., p. 418.

¹⁸⁷ *Mirkhond* calls her *Mysûlûn*.

caused Juji to marry Bigtuimish-Fu-Jin, another daughter of Unk's brother, the just-mentioned Jugambu, and Tului, whilst yet a boy, to become the husband of Siurkukteni, another daughter of the same man, he was actually the brother-in-law of his eldest and of his youngest son. All the three princesses were Christians¹⁸⁸; the two first mentioned are unknown to history, but the third has immortalized her name by her intellect, virtue, and liberality, as will be seen further on.

Chenghiz Khan had employed his four sons in the government of his dominions; Juji he entrusted with all the affairs concerning the chase, which, being carried on with immense preparations on certain occasions, required nearly as much discernment as the manœuvring of troops; Chagatai presided over the judicial, Ogotai over the civil, and Tului over the military administration.¹⁸⁹ But Ogotai he considered as the fittest to succeed him, and this opinion he expressed also on his deathbed,¹⁹⁰ at which Ogotai and Chagatai were present with Barka, Batu, and Berkjar, the sons of Juji, who, as has already been observed, was dead, and Tului absent in Mongolia in the original Urdu of Chenghiz, near the river Kerulan.

OGOTAI.

Tului was the regent of the empire till the accession of Ogotai, which took place in 1229 in the great Urdu near the Kerulan river, when he was proclaimed Khan by the assembled princes of the blood, the chiefs, nobles, and troops amidst great rejoicings, after he had during forty days modestly resisted their entreaties and offered homage to his elder brother Chagatai, whom he considered to be more worthy than himself to occupy the throne. The act of installation consisted in the presentation of a goblet of wine by Ulug Noyán, *i.e.* Tului, to Ogotai, who quaffed it, whereupon all who were in the tent, as well as the assembled multitudes without, fell nine times on their knees; then all turned towards the sun and prostrated themselves thrice towards it on their knees,¹⁹¹ which act of heliolatry is mentioned also by Mirkhond afterwards at the inauguration of Kuyuk Khan.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸ D'Ohsson, t. I., p. 418, and t. II., p. 58.

¹⁸⁹ Mirkhond, *ut supra*.

¹⁹⁰ چنگیز خان گفت من اکنون او کتای را بخانی مقرر کردم و
 زمام امور جهانبانی در کف کفایت او نهادم ۴۱ *Ibidem*, p. ۴۱

¹⁹¹ Abulfaraj, ed. and transl. of Pococke, p. 305.

¹⁹² Mirkhond, vol. V., p. ۵۳

All the country extending from Karakorum¹⁰³ to Erán had—when Chinghiz Khan entrusted the government of various portions of the empire to his sons—been assigned to Chagatai, who in connection with Koráchár Noyán, given to him as vizier, endeavoured to repair the mischief caused by the devastation of the country when the Mongols had first taken possession of it. He governed so leniently that in 1232-3 (A.H. 630) a fanatic of Táráb, near Bokhara, who called himself Mahmúd, revolted. This impostor pretended to have supernatural powers at his disposal, and on a certain occasion when the rebels and Mongols fought, even the latter believed a hurricane, which suddenly rose, to be one of his miracles, and fled.¹⁰⁴ The insurrection was soon put down—not, however, without twenty thousand Moslems succumbing to the wrath of the Mongols. Besides the just-mentioned government, which together with Turkestan was carried on by officers of his choice, Ogotai was also the sovereign not only of Mongolia, but even of portions of China, which country he invaded in 1229 and left in 1234, when he held a great assembly or Kuriltai of all his vassals and nobles in a place of Mongolia called Talan-Tepe.

When Tului—who begat four sons with Siurkukteni Beghi, namely Mangu, Kubilai, Hulagu, and Arik-Boga, the two first of whom became Grand Khans, and the third the founder of a dynasty in Persia—died,

¹⁰³ Karakorum, near the upper course of the river Orkon [in northern Mongolia] is said by Chinese authors to have been founded by Báku Khán, of the Hsien-Hu or Uigurs, in the 8th century. In the days of Chinghiz, we are told, it was the head-quarters of his ally and afterwards enemy, Togrul Wang Khan, the Prester John of Polo. Ogotai, the successor of Chinghiz, established his capital at Karakorum, and founded the walls and palace in 1234. It continued to be the Mongol head-quarters till 1256, when Mangu Khan decided to transfer the seat of government to Kaipingfu, [about 180 miles in a direct line] north of Peking.

The city, or the imperial camp in its vicinity, was visited by Plano Carpini (1246) and by Rubruquis (1253). The following is the latter's account of it:—"As regards the city of Caracaron, you must understand that if you set aside the Kuan's own palace, it is not as good as the borough of St. Denis; and as for the palace, the Abbey of St. Denis is worth ten of it. There are two streets in the town; one of which is occupied by the Saracens, and in that is the marketplace. The other street is occupied by the Cathayans, who are all craftsmen. Besides these two streets there are some great palaces occupied by the court secretaries. There are also twelve idol temples belonging to different nations, two Mahumeries in which the Law of Mahomet is preached, and one church of the Christians at the extremity of the town," &c. Yule's *Ser Marco Polo*, p. 204.

¹⁰⁴ امرا مغول این معنی را از کرامات شیخ حمل کرده عنان از

میرکوند، vol. V., p. ۶۹ برتافتند

his name was no longer allowed to be pronounced, and as it means "mirror" the people were obliged to borrow another word for this article from the Turkish language. Tului's chief wife, Siurkukteni, besides whom he had many others as well as concubines, remained at the court with her children, to whose education she devoted herself; she was also very influential and much respected.¹⁰⁵

Whilst his armies invaded Corea, ravaged the south of China, devastated Russia, Poland, Hungary, and spread terror in the west of Europe, Ogotai abandoned himself to inactivity and to his taste for drink. His residence was at Karakorum, and the architects, painters, as well as other skilled men he had brought from China were engaged in embellishing it, but chiefly in constructing a palace for him, which, with its parks and artificial fountains, was a marvel of the age.¹⁰⁶ His drunken habits brought on a malady, from which he recovered, but being unable to resist them he drank till midnight, and was the next day, the 11th December 1241, found dead in his bed, aged fifty-six years.¹⁰⁷

Ogotai may possibly have been influenced by Buddhistic ideas on the sacredness of life, as he actually saved that of a wolf by purchasing him, and manifested great displeasure at seeing him after his release pursued by dogs. On that occasion he said, "I felt unwell, and thought that if I were to deliver a beast from destruction God would bestow health on me"¹⁰⁸; the author of the *Tabâkat-i-Nâçeri*, however, believes Ogotai to have been well disposed towards Moslems,¹⁰⁹ and

۱۰۵ سیور کو کتني بيکي باهم اولاد ملازمة قآ ان مينمودند و پادشاہ ايشانرا معزز و مکرم داشتني و سيور کو کتني بيکي بغاية و هيه و عاقله بود و در ضبط الوس سر آمد خواتين عالم و در ستر و عصمة و عفة نزد دور و نزدیک مسلم و در باب تربية فرزندان که اکثر ايشان طفل از پدرمانده بودند مساعي مشکور بجائي آورد و همه را ادب و فرهنگ آمرخت و هرگز نگذاشت که ميان ايشان مقدار سرموي منازعة پديد آيد و در تنظيم امور امراء و نوکران که تعلق بشوهرش ميداشتند بنوعي قيام نمود که مردان مرد انگشت تعجب بدندان تفکر گرفتند و بحسن معاش چنان کرد که بعد از وفات کيوخان بن قآ ان سلطنة بر پسرش

منکر قآ ان قرار يافت Ibid., pp. ۵۱ seq.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. ۴۵. ¹⁰⁷ See D'Ohsson, t. II., p. 84. ¹⁰⁸ Mirkhond, p. ۵۱

¹⁰⁹ اکثای در ذات خود بغاية کریم و نیکو خلق بود و مسلمانان

quite the contrary of his brother Chagatai, who, says he, would have extirpated them all had he been able to do so.²⁰⁰

From the following traits reported by Mirkhond, and after him by D'Ohsson, it would appear that Ogotai saved at least two Muhammadans from persecution if not destruction:—A Moslem happened to be washing his body in a running water whilst Ogotai was one day returning with his brother Chagatai from a hunting party; the latter, who strictly observed the laws and hated Moslems, wished to kill the man on the spot. The Khan, however, said that he ought to be examined and judged the next day; meanwhile he caused a *balish*²⁰¹ secretly to be thrown into the water where the man was bathing, and the culprit to be instructed to plead for his excuse that he had unfortunately dropped the coin into the river, and had entered it to recover his money. People were sent to look for the lost *balish*, which they found and brought. Then Ogotai said that the law ought in no case to be infringed, but that he pardoned the man on account of his indigence, as he had jeopardized his life for so trifling a sum. To this kind act Ogotai added another, by presenting the man with ten more *balishes*.

The other case is as follows:—According to the *Yâsä*, i.e. sanctioned usages, of Chenghiz, animals were to be slaughtered by first ripping open the breast in the Mongol fashion, and not by cutting the throat as Moslems do. This usage appears to have been considered in so serious a light that it was strictly insisted on even in later times, during the reign of Kubilai, but Ogotai had published an edict to that effect, which greatly irritated the Moslems, and his brother Chagatai, who, as has already been observed, was particularly unfriendly to them, insisted on its strict observance.²⁰² As Musalmans are by their reli-

دوست عظیم بود بعد او مسلمانی که در ممالک او بودند مرفد الحال
و با حرمة بودند ۳۸۱ p.

۲۰۰ چغتایی مسلمانان را دشمن داشتی و پیوسته در مزاج او آن
بود که خون مسلمانان بریزد و هیچ یک را زنده نگذارد
Ibidem.

²⁰¹ The *balish* was a money of account; it was of silver and of gold, valued at five hundred *mithkalis* of these metals respectively; but afterwards the changes were so considerable and fluctuating during successive reigns that it would be tedious to rehearse them in this place. There were not only *ingo's* but also *bank-notes* representing *balishes*.

۲۰۲ چغتایی ملعون پسر دوم چنگیز خان مقل بود و او مرد ظالم و
سائس و قتال بدکردار بود و هیچکس از فرمان دهان مقل از او

gion allowed to eat only of the meat of animals whose throats have been cut, one of them bought a sheep with the intention of doing so. A Kipchak observed the Moslem, dogged his steps, mounted to the roof of the house which the man had entered, and leaped down at the moment when he slaughtered the sheep. The Kipchak dragged the culprit to the court, but the latter was set at liberty by Ogotai, and the former slain, because he had trespassed in another man's house.

An enemy of the Musalmans presented himself one day before Ogotai and stated that Chenghiz Khan had appeared to him in a dream, and had said, "Go on my behalf to my son, and tell him to exterminate all the followers of Muḥammad, because they are a wicked brood." Ogotai reflected a few moments, and asked whether Chenghiz Khan had spoken through an interpreter. The man replied, "No." Then he asked him whether he knew the Mongol language, and on his confessing that he knew only Turkish, Ogotai exclaimed, "Then thou art a liar, because Chenghiz Khan knew only Mongolian," and ordered him to be killed.²⁰³

After the demise of Ogotai all eyes were turned to Chagatai, the only yet surviving son of Chenghiz Khan, who had, in conjunction with the princes of the blood, appointed *Turakina Khātūn*, the widow of Ogotai, to be regent till a successor to him could be elected. *Turakina* was a Nestorian Christian,²⁰⁴ the spouse of Tayussūn, chief of the Uhuz-Merkite tribe. This princess had been captured with her husband, who had revolted against Chenghiz Khan, and was given by the latter to his son Ogotai for a wife, who begat with her Kuyuk and two other sons. Kuyuk was born in 1206, and had first served in China, in the war against the Kins, under General Ajitai, and afterwards in the expedition to Europe—being himself one of the generals during the reign of Ogotai, when the Mongols invaded Russia, Poland, Dalmatia,

مسلمانان را دشمنتر نبود بخواستی که هیچ آفریده نام مسلمان پیش
او بر زبان نراندی مگر بر بدی و در همه قبایل او امکان نه بودی که
هیچ کس گو سپند را بر سینه مسلمانان ذبح کردی همه مردار کردند و
گذارند نماز مجال نبودی هیچ مسلمانان را و پیوسته چغتای بر آن بودی
که مسلمانان را بقتل باید رسانید و از ایشان باید که هیچ باقی نماند و
هیچ یک از مسلمانان در نظر او نتوانستی آمد *Tabakāt-i-Nāceri*, p. ۳۹۷

²⁰³ Mirkhond, vol. V., p. ۴۷ and D'Ohsson, t. II., p. 95.

²⁰⁴ *Bibl. Or. Clementino Vaticana*, Ass., t. III., pt. II., p. ciii.

and Hungary, where they committed the most horrible depredations—under the orders of Batu, whence he was recalled with his troops in January 1241, but during his homeward march was informed of the death of his father.

Turakina made during her regency A'bd-al-rahman her finance minister, whilst according to Persian historians Maḥmūd Yeluáj was during the reign of Ogotai governor-general of the Mongol provinces of China, but fell into disgrace after his death and was removed by Turakina.²⁰⁵ These are the first signs of the increasing influence of Musalmans in high places ; but there is an instance even of a woman of that religion, named Faṭimah, a native of Meshed, who, although first brought as a captive by the Tatar army from Khorásán, afterwards so ingratiated herself with Turakina Khátún, that all who desired their affairs to prosper, and hoped for favours from the court, first sought her protection. She perished, however, miserably, as she was—in spite of the persistent refusal of Turakina to send her to the camp of Kuyuk, whose brother was dangerously ill, and whose recovery Faṭimah was expected to bring about, as she had been accused of having bewitched him—at last surrendered to her foes. Such is the account of Mirkhond, but D'Ohsson states that Faṭimah was slain only after the demise of Turakina, which, he says, took place two months before the accession of Kuyuk to the throne. The way in which Faṭimah lost her life was as follows :—When she arrived in the camp of Kuyuk, a false report had been spread that his brother, prince Kután, had already expired ; she was tortured until she confessed a crime never committed by her ; the upper and lower apertures of her body were sewn up, and being wrapped in a piece of felt she was thrown into the water.²⁰⁶ A similar case of suspected witchcraft has been recorded by William Ruisbroek, known as Rubruquis, and will be narrated in its proper place, during the reign of Mangu.

The great Diet or Kuriltai to elect the emperor could not take place till 1246, because Batu, the eldest prince of the blood, who liked neither Turakina Khátún nor her son Kuyuk, had delayed to come, and the other members of the imperial family would not proceed without him to the election of a new sovereign, which, however, took place at last when he arrived ; but Mirkhond states that he never did, on the plea of being afflicted with a bad foot.

²⁰⁵ Mirkhond, vol. V. p. 82.

²⁰⁶ *Ibidem*.

KUYUK.

At the Kuriltai not only the princes of the blood, vassals, and nobles in great numbers, but also ambassadors from Europe were present, about whom, however, no details appear to be on record. Of the three sons of Ogotai the above-mentioned Kután was sick, Sirámún was a boy, and Kuyuk an experienced general of great renown, wherefore he was by Turakina Khátún and Siurkukteni Beghi³⁰⁷ considered to be the most fit to become emperor; with this decision also the princes of the blood and the nobles coincided, and he was installed: The genuflections to the prince and to the sun, as well as the goblet of wine, mentioned above at the inauguration of Ogotai, according to Abulfaraj, are in this instance recorded also by Mirkhond.³⁰⁸

As the Atábek Kodák Khán, who was a Christian,³⁰⁹ had inculcated the tenets of his religion to Kuyuk from infancy, and Chagatai

³⁰⁷ Quatremère, in a note to the life of Hulagu in the *Collection Orientale*, جامع التواريخ رشیدی, makes about Siurkukteni, the widow of Tului, the following remark:—"This princess added to a superior mind and high capacity all sorts of estimable qualities. In her widowhood she lived with her brother-in-law Ogotai, who showed her at all times the greatest respect. He wanted her even to marry his son Kuyuk, who became emperor after him, but she refused this alliance, and desired to devote all her time to the education of her sons. In the Kuriltai held at the coronation of Kuyuk, Siurkukteni occupied the first rank, which circumstance bears witness to the high esteem in which she was held in the whole Mongol nation. Two of the sons of this princess, namely Mangu and Kubilai, were by unanimous suffrage elected to the rank of emperor. When Mangu was raised to the throne, he gave to his mother the title of empress. This princess died in 1252, and was universally regretted. Siurkukteni professed the Christian religion (*Barhebræi Chron. Syriac.*, t. I., p. 518) which did not prevent her from showing favour to the Musalmans. See also Mirkhond, vol. V., p. ۵۴.

³⁰⁸ خدمتش را بر مسند خانیه بنشاندند و مجموع ایشان نه بار زانو زده کاسه برداشتند و بیرون خرگاه رفته سه نوبه آفتاب را نیز زانو زدند Mirkhond, vol. V., p. ۵۳

³⁰⁹ Kuyuk Khan had for an Atábek an Amir whose name was Kadak, and who, having been washed by holy baptism, was a believer in Christ; and in the same office he had another Amir as partner, named Jirkai. These two were kind to Christians, and made Kuyuk, as well as his mother, favourable towards their metropolitans, bishops, and monks, so that the empire became Christian, and the French, Russians, Syrians, and Armenians, who profess that religion, were held in great esteem: تاریخ الدول.—Abulfaraj, ed. by Pococke, p. 320.

Nearly the same statement is repeated in another work of Abulfaraj—also called Barhebræus—namely in his *Syriac Chronicle*, the text and Latin translation of which may be seen in Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, t. III., pt. II., p. ciii.

was also partial to it,²¹⁰ the new emperor determined to afford his protection to Christians, and when this news spread many flocked to his Urdu from Rúm and Syria.²¹¹ Kódák, Çana'á, and other high officers also favoured Christians so much that in those times Moslems would not take the liberty to speak very loud to them.²¹² Although Mirkhond ascribes the attempt to take a census of the Moslems to the machinations of Christians, and states that it was defeated because one of the officers, who was to have made the beginning, having been attacked and mutilated in his sexual parts by furious dogs which assailed him, caused the abortion of the project, he is nevertheless candid enough not to withhold his tribute of admiration from Siurkukteni Beghi.²¹³

Hayton, the king of Armenia and a vassal of the Mongols, sent his brother Sempad or Sinibad in 1246 to congratulate Kuyuk on his accession to the throne, as well as to ensure a further continuation of good understanding with the emperor. The letter of Sempad, dated from Samarkand, addressed to the king and queen of Cyprus, is of so exaggerated a character that it would be undeserving of attention as a historical document, but an extract from it is here inserted, to serve as a specimen how unscrupulous some travellers of the Middle Ages were in giving bright accounts of Christianity, with the intention of pleasing their readers at home:—"We understand it to be the fact that it is five years since the death of the present Khan's father [Ogotai], but the Tatar barons and soldiers had been so scattered over the face of the earth that it was scarcely possible in the five years to get them together

²¹⁰ چغتای که هم از آن کیش دم میزد ۴۵. Mirkhond, vol. V., p.

²¹¹ چون این آوازه در جهان شبرع یافت از حدود روم و شام

Ibidem. نرسیان روی باردوی نهادند

²¹² و کار نصاری بواسطه ایشان درجه علیا یافت و مسلمانی را در

آن زمان یارای نبود که با ترسای سخن بلند تر بگویند *Ibidem.*

²¹³ بیکی با آنکه تابع و مقوی ملة عیسوی بود در اظهار شرع مصطفوی گوشتید و عطایا و انعامات در باره ایمه اسلام و مشایخ عظام مبذول داشتی" مصدق این مقال آنکه یک هزار بالش نقره داد تا در بخارا سه بناء نهادند و مستقالات خوب و مزارع مرغوب بر آن وقف کردند و یکی از علماء کبار را در آن مدرسه مدرس ساخت *Ibidem.*

in one place to enthrone the Khan aforesaid. For some of them were in India, others in the land of Khata, and others in the land of Kashgar and of Tangut. This last is the land from which the three kings came to Bethlehem to worship the Lord Jesus, who was born. And know that the power of Christ has been, and is, so great that the people of the land are Christians, and the whole land of Khata believes in those three kings. I have myself been in their churches, and have seen pictures of Jesus Christ, and the three kings; one offering gold, the second frankincense, and the third myrrh. And it is through those three kings that they believe in Christ, and that the Khan and his people have now become Christians. And they have their churches before his gates, where they ring their bells, and beat upon pieces of timber..... And I tell you that we have found many Christians scattered all over the East, and many fine churches, lofty, ancient, and of good architecture, which have been spoiled by the Turks. Hence the Christians came before the present Khan's grandfather, and he received them most honourably, and granted them liberty of worship, and issued orders to forbid their having any just cause of complaint by word or deed. And so the Saracens, who used to treat them with contumely, have now like treatment in double measure.....and let me tell you that those who set up for preachers [among these Christians] in my opinion deserve to be well chastised."

BEGINNING OF ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS TO THE MONGOLS.

It has already been observed above that also Europeans were present at the election of Kuyuk: among these were to have been also two Franciscan monks, namely John de Plano Carpino and Benedict the Pole; they arrived, however, five months after it, but only a few days after his *elevation* to the throne. In a council, namely, held at Lyons in 1245, it had been decreed to send missionaries to the Tatars, in order to preach to them humanity, and to endeavour to convert them to Christianity. The Pope, Innocent IV., wrote to the Prior of the Dominicans in Paris to select among the monks of his order several friars who might be entrusted with this mission. When the Prior read the apostolic letters in full chapter, all the monks vied with each other in offering themselves, and wept. Those who had obtained leave to court death for the salvation of their brothers burst into tears of joy, whilst the others were filled with grief. The four monks—Anselm of Lombardy, Simon of St. Quentin, Alberic, and Alexander—who had been selected went to throw themselves at the feet of the Pope, and

received from him letters addressed to the chief of the Tatars, with orders to proceed to the first army of that nation which they might meet with in Persia, and they travelled to the camp of Baiju.²¹⁴

There was, however, also another mission, consisting of three monks, besides the four just mentioned. This mission was to have been present at the election of Kuyuk, and its members were composed of three individuals, namely the two monks first above mentioned and Lawrence of Portugal. Both missions started from Europe in 1246, but this second one passed through Bohemia, Silesia, and Poland, in which latter country these monks received from certain nobles and ecclesiastics a quantity of furs, because they had been told that in order to be admitted into the presence of Mongol chiefs it would be necessary to offer them gifts. After the missionaries had departed from Kiev they reached in six days the Mongol outposts on the river Dnieper. They were led to the quarters of the prince who commanded the Mongol troops on the frontier, but, nobody being able to interpret the Latin letters which they had with them from the Pope, that general sent the missionaries to the court of Batu. They departed, and travelling thirty-nine days, with a change of horses four or five times daily, arrived in the camp of that prince, on the banks of the Volga. Tents were pitched for them at a distance of about a league from headquarters. The agent of Batu asked them what they had to offer to his master on being allowed to prostrate themselves in his presence; they replied that as their master, the Pope, was not sure whether his envoys could reach their destination, he had not entrusted them with any presents, and that they had moreover to pass through very dangerous countries, but that they would offer what they had received on their own account. When they had delivered their presents and made known the object of their journey, they were admitted to an audience of Batu. They were first made to pass between two fires, in order to destroy the malignant influences which might ensue from their presence. Two lances, planted near these fires, supported an outstretched rope on which pieces of cloth were suspended. All persons, animals, and goods that were to be purified had to pass under this rope, whilst two women, one at each side, sprinkled them with water and recited certain words. The monks were compelled to bend their left knees thrice before the tent of the prince, and were

²¹⁴ Vincent. M. Fontana, *Monumenta Dominicana*, Romæ, 1675, p. 52; D'Ohsson, t. II., p. 208.

warned not to touch the threshold of it. Batu was seated on a raised dais with one of his wives at his side. The members of his family and his chief officers occupied a bench in the centre of the tent, and in their rear persons of inferior rank reclined, the men on the right, and the women on the left side. The missionaries were obliged to speak to the prince in a kneeling posture; they handed to him the letters they had brought, and asked for an interpreter to translate them. They were placed on the left side in the tent of the prince, as the right belonged to the ambassadors who had returned from the court of the Grand Khan. This tent, which was spacious and of fine texture, had been taken from the king of Hungary. It contained a table covered with goblets of silver and of gold filled with various beverages; and every time Batu drank, songs and musical instruments resounded.²¹⁵

The letters of the Pope, dated from Lyons on the third nones of March 1245, were addressed to the Tatar king and nation. In one of these epistles the Pope explained the principal dogmas of the Christian religion, the redemption of mankind accomplished by the sacrifice of the Son of God, his resurrection and his ascension, preceded by his appointing a vicar in this world, who is entrusted with the care of souls and the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and declared that, although an unworthy successor of that vicar, he was desirous of effecting the salvation of the Tatar king and people, and that, not being able to be present everywhere, he had delegated his brothers the friar Lawrence of Portugal and his companions, bearers of these letters, in order to make known to them the dogmas of the Christian religion. The other letter was worded as follows:—"As not only men, but even the animals void of reason, and even the elements of the universe, have been put together by a certain affinity, like the celestial spirits whom the Supreme Being has established in a state of perpetual peace, we cannot help being immensely amazed that you have—as it was reported to us—invaded so many Christian and other countries, which you have horribly desolated, and that in your devastating fury you have burst all the bonds of natural affinity, without sparing either age or sex, by putting everybody indiscriminately to the sword. Desirous, therefore, according to the example of the God of peace, to see all men united in the fear of the Lord, we inform, request, and exhort you no more to attack Christians, and to appease the

²¹⁵ Narrative of Plano Carpino in Vincent, *Speculum Hist.*, lib., *xxxi.*; D'Ohsson, t. II., p. 211.

divine wrath, strongly provoked by so many offences, and to submit to a penance proportionate thereto ; for if God has hitherto allowed nations to fall under your blows, that is not to embolden you to continue to exert your rage ; he sometimes forbears during a time to chastise the proud, but if they do not think of humbling themselves, God does not fail to punish their iniquities in this world, and to reserve for them a still more complete vengeance in the next." This letter terminated with a request to receive kindly the monks who were charged to present it, as also to put faith in what they said in the name of the Pope, especially as far as the establishment of peace was concerned. Lastly, the Pope asks the Tatars with great *naïveté* to let him know what had induced them to destroy several nations, and what their projects for the future were.²¹⁶ Some days after the letters of the Pope had been delivered, as well as translated into Mongolian, Russian, and Arabic, Batu made the envoys of the Pope understand that they must betake themselves to the place fixed for the election of the new Khan. They were told to send back several persons of their suite ; the missionaries consented, and sent by them their report to the Pope ; these men were, however, detained near the Russian frontier until the return of the monks.

John de Plano Carpino narrates some traits characteristic of the barbarism of the Mongols. A Russian duke, named Michael, who arrived to pay homage to Batu, was led to him between two fires, and invited to prostrate himself before the image of Chenghiz Khan. He replied that he would willingly bow to Batu and his nobles, but that his religion prohibited him from paying respect to the image of a dead man. The Mongols insisted, and, as he persevered in his refusal, Batu caused him to understand that if he failed to obey he would be put to death. As this threat could not shake the firmness of the Russian prince, Batu had him punished by one of his guards, who kicked him with his foot so many times on the belly and stomach that he died shortly afterwards. The same author says elsewhere (lib. xxxi., cap. 6) that when he was in the dominions of Batu, a certain Andrew, duke of Sarvogle, in Russia, having been accused to this prince of having exported horses from Tartary in order to sell them elsewhere, was slain, although the accusation could not be proved. When the younger brother and the widow of the murdered duke obtained information of his death, they went to Batu in order to request him not to de-

²¹⁶ Odor. Raynaldus, *Annales Eccles.*, t. II., p. 321 ; D'OHENSON, p. 214.

prive them of his principality, whereupon Batu ordered—according to the usage of the Mongols—the young prince to marry the widow of his brother. The lady replied that she would rather commit suicide than become guilty of an act so contrary to her religion ; he had her nevertheless delivered to the young prince, and, as both were unwilling to unite, the Mongols led them to the bed and put the young man upon the princess, in spite of her tears and lamentations.

The envoys, whose chief was Plano Carpino, left the camp of Batu on Easter Sunday, accompanied by two Tatars who had orders to make them travel quickly so as to arrive at the *election* ; but they reached the great Urdu only on the 22nd July, about five months after they had entered the Mongol territory near the river Dnieper. These monks were admitted to an audience by Kuyuk at the end of August, some days after his *elevation* to the throne, simultaneously with several princes and ambassadors, whose names were read out aloud by the chancellor, Tihinkai. All bent their left knee four times ; they were carefully searched to see whether they had any knives with them, and were informed not to touch, on entering, the piece of wood which was on the threshold of the door. These people had offered to the emperor an immense quantity of presents, consisting chiefly of rich stuffs, girdles with silk and gold tissues, and costly furs ; there were also horses and mules with trappings of iron or leather. When the envoys of the Pope were asked what presents they had brought, they replied that they no longer possessed anything.

Some time after this first audience the emperor ordered the monks, through Tihinkai, to state the object of their mission in writing. Before replying to the letters of the Pope, they were asked whether there was anybody near their master who understood Mongolian, Russian, or Arabic, but they replied in the negative. A few days later, on the 11th November, Kaduk, the chancellor of the empire, Tihinkai and Bela, accompanied by several secretaries, paid them a visit, and interpreted to them the reply of the Khan to the Pope, which the missionaries wrote down in Latin. The officers of the emperor were careful to get every word the monks wrote explained to them, so as to be sure that they had been well understood ; for all that, however, when they handed to them the original letters of the emperor, sealed with his seal, they added also an Arabic translation. This reply of the Khan to the Pope has not been made public, but was no doubt analogous to that which occurs in the following passage of a letter received by the king of Cyprus from the Grand Constable of Armenia, and com-

municated by the former to Louis IX. about the end of 1248, during the sojourn of that king in Nicosia :—" Be it also known to you that our lord the Pope has sent an ambassador to the said Caan, asking him whether he was a Christian, and why he sent the people of his nation to trample underfoot and to destroy the universe, to which the Caan replied that *God had commanded his ancestors and him to send his people to exterminate the wicked nations*; but as to the question whether he was a Christian he replied that *God knew it, and that if the Pope desired to know it he had only to come and to see.*"²¹⁷

Two days afterwards the friars were taken to an audience of the empress-mother, Turakina, who gave to each of them a fox pelisse with the fur outside, and a robe of cloth. John de Plano Carpino complains²¹⁸ that during the month the monks sojourned at the imperial court they nearly died of hunger, as the victuals distributed to them to last four days sufficed scarcely for one, and they could buy nothing because the market was too distant; fortunately, however, a Russian goldsmith named Come, in the service of Kuyuk, sent them provisions. They left the imperial residence in November, but reached the court of Batu only towards the end of May in the next year, *i.e.* in 1247. Having asked this prince for his reply to the Pope, they were informed that he had nothing more to say than what was contained already in the letters of the emperor; accordingly the missionaries continued their journey in order to reach the sovereign pontiff.

From the preceding account it may be seen that the sojourn of this Franciscan mission of John de Plano Carpino among the Mongolians was not a protracted one; the mission had started from Europe in 1246 and again returned in 1247, spending most of the time in travelling, and only one month at the court of Kuyuk.

The Dominican mission above alluded to, of Friar Anselm and his companions, returned to the papal court after an absence of three and a half years, inclusive of its sojourn of nearly a year in the camp of Baiju, which it had reached in 1247 with a letter from the Pope, who exhorted the Tatars no more to repeat their ravages of Christian countries, and to repent of what they had done. After these Dominican friars had expressed their desire to be admitted to the presence of Baiju, in order to acquit themselves of the commission they had been charged with, they were interrogated by the officers of that general about the place they were coming from. They stated that they were envoys of the

²¹⁷ Vincentius, *Spec. Hist.*, lib. xxi., cap. 92.

²¹⁸ *Relation*, cap. 37.

Pope, whom Christians considered to be superior to all other men, and revered as their father and master. These words caused lively indignation to the Mongol officers, who asked these strangers how they could have the insolence to pretend that he who had sent them was above all other men. "Does he not know," said they, "that the Khan is the son of God? that Baiju Noyau is his lieutenant? Their names must be known in every place." Friar Anselm, the chief of the mission, replied that the Pope knew nothing about the Khan, nor about Baiju, and that he had never heard their names pronounced; that he had only been informed of a nation called Tatar, issuing from the limits of the East, which had subjugated many countries, and caused innumerable multitudes to perish; that if the Pope had known the name of the Khan and of his lieutenant he would not have failed to write to them in the letters he had sent them; that this pontiff, afflicted by so much bloodshed, but chiefly by the murder of Christians, had, with the advice of his brothers the cardinals, ordered them promptly to betake themselves to the first Tatar camp they might reach, in order to exhort in his name the chief of that army, and all those who obeyed him, to abstain from slaying men, especially Christians, and by penitence to expiate their atrocious crimes, as they would more completely learn from the contents of the letters themselves.

The officers of Baiju, with the interpreters, reported these words of Friar Anselm to that general, and returned after a few moments to ask the missionaries whether they had brought any presents on behalf of the Pope. Friar Anselm replied that they had brought nothing, because the Pope was not in the habit of sending presents, but that, on the contrary, he received offerings on the part of Christians, and even from infidels. The Mongol officers again returned to the tent of their master, and coming again back said, "How can you appear with empty hands before our master? Nobody has done it yet." Anselm replied that if they could not be admitted to the general he might give them letters to take back to the Pope.

The officers went again to take orders from their chief, and took care to change their clothes every time after every message. On returning they declared to the monks that if they themselves desired to present the letters of the Pope to the Noyan Baiju they must adore him with three genuflections, just as if they stood before his sovereign, the son of God, and master of the world. The monks, who considered that this kind of adoration might be taken as a sign of submission on the part of the Pope and the Christian Church to the Mongol

emperor, which would be a subject of triumph to all the foes of the Church in Asia, refused to consent, and declared their readiness to salute their general, as the representative of the Khan, in the same manner as they saluted their own master, but that the proposal made to them was ignominious to the Christian religion, and that they would prefer to suffer death than to comply therewith ; but that, in order to show that they were in their refusal not animated by a feeling of pride, they assured them that if the Noyan Baiju, themselves, and his officers would become Christians, the friars would not only not hesitate to prostrate themselves before them, but would kiss even the soles of their feet to the honour of God. At these words the Mongol officers said to them with indignation, "What! you advise us to become Christians and dogs like yourselves and your Pope?" and left them in anger. They nevertheless returned to ask the monks how they saluted their sovereign, whereupon Friar Anselm drew his hood a little back and inclined his head slightly. Then the Mongols asked how they adored God. Anselm replied that they worshipped him in many ways,—some prostrated, some on their knees, and some in other modes. "As you Christians," retorted the officers brusquely, "adore wood and stone, you ought not to refuse to adore the Noyan Baiju, to whom the Khan, the son of God, has commanded the same honours to be shown as to himself." Friar Anselm replied that Christians adored the Deity represented in wood and stone, but that their master could set up no pretensions of the kind.

The officers of Baiju went away, and when they came back they made the friars understand that they had only to go to the court of the Khan in order to present their letters, and to behold his majesty as well as his power, of which they might give an account to their master. Anselm replied that as the Pope had never heard the Khan spoken of, he had simply commanded them to go to the first Tatar army they should meet ; and that they would be satisfied to fulfil his instructions, and he was ready to give them the letters of the Pope if they would be pleased to receive them, but if not he would carry them back. Then the officers said, "With what assurance dare you Christians assert that the Pope is superior in dignity to all other men? Who has ever heard it said that your Pope possesses as many kingdoms as the Khan, the son of God, has acquired by divine favour? Who has ever heard that the name of the Pope is known, feared, and respected over the whole earth, like that of the Khan, who rules from the boundaries of the east to those of the Mediterranean and

the Black Sea. Therefore the Khan is superior in glory and power to your Pope, and to all men." Friar Anselm replied, "We say that our lord the Pope is above all other men, because God has accorded to the Holy Father and to his successors the authority of the universal Church to the end of all time;" and the monk began to explain to them this article of faith, but was soon interrupted by the insolent vociferations of the officers of Baiju, which hindered him at the same time from replying to the other points of their speech.

These officers, who had departed brusquely, returned again, and asked the missionaries, on behalf of Baiju, to give them the letters they had brought. Anselm surrendered them. They took them, but returned a few moments afterwards and told the monks to get them translated into Persian. The four friars retired aside with the interpreters and writers of Baiju, all working at a translation of the letters of the Pope into Persian, from which language they were turned into Mongolian and submitted for the perusal of Baiju.

The officers of this general now again reappeared accompanied by a secretary of the Grand Khan, who was a high officer and about to depart to the court. They informed the monks that two of them would, under the guidance of this functionary, have to start to the imperial court in order personally to present the letters to their master the emperor, to receive his answer, and with their own eyes to behold his glory and his power. Anselm refused to comply, for the reasons he had already alleged. After having spent this first day painfully with unsatisfactory negotiations, the monks returned in the evening hungry to their tent, which was one mile distant from the quarters of Baiju. After the expiration of four days they again went to the camp of this general, in order to ask for his reply and permission to depart; but in vain. They repeated their proceedings during almost nine weeks, went daily to the quarters of the general, and remained during the months of June and July daily for several hours exposed to the heat of the sun, without their demand being attended to, or even being approached by the people of Baiju to speak to them. "The missionaries," says Friar Simon, "were considered by the Tatars as wretches unworthy of a reply, and even as dogs; in this manner Baiju wreaked his resentment upon the friars, who had offended him by the frankness of their speech. He went so far in his anger as to condemn them to death, and issued an order twice to that effect." At last, however, the missionaries obtained leave to depart, on the 28th July, with the reply of Baiju, worded in the following terms:—

"By order of the divine Khan, Baiju Noyan addresses to thee the following words:—Know thou, O Pope, that thy envoys have come and brought us thy letters. Thy envoys have spoken high words; we know not whether thou hast commanded them to speak in this manner, or whether they have done so on their own account. Thy letters contained among others also the words *You kill many people*; but see the command of God, and this order given to us by him who is the master of the whole world,—*That whosoever obeys us remains in possession of his land, of his water, of his patrimony, and dedicates his forces to the master of the whole earth, but that he who resists us be annihilated.* We transmit this order to thee, in virtue whereof, if thou wilt retain thy land, thy water, and thy patrimony, thou must, O Pope, betake thyself in person to us, and thereupon go to present thyself to him who is the master of the whole earth. And if thou obeyest not the command of God, and of him who rules the earth, we know not what will happen,—God alone knows it. Send us thy messengers to let us know whether thou wilt come or not, whether thou wilt be a friend or a foe; and let us promptly have a reply to this order, which we send by Aybeg and Sergius. Given in the district of Sitiens on the 20th July."

To this letter the copy of a general order given to the general Baiju as a rule of conduct towards foreign nations was added. He was ordered in the name of Cheughiz Khan, the son of God, and master of the earth, as the eternal and the sovereign of the universe, to have it published in all places, that whoever will submit to the commands of the son of God will be saved, and that he who resists them will be annihilated.²¹⁹

Friar Anselm remained nearly a year in Persia with his companions,

²¹⁹ It is worth while to insert *in extenso* this second document, which is at the same time also a curious specimen of Latinity, composed by the monks from the explanations of the interpreters (Vincent., *Speculum Historiale*, lib. xxxi.) :—

" *Litteræ Dei.*

"Per præceptum Dei vivi, Chingischân, filius Dei dulcis et venerabilis, dicit quia Deus excelsus super omnia, ipse Deus immortalis, et super terram Chingischân solus dominus, volumus istud ad audientiam omnium in omnem locum pervenire provinciis nobis obedientibus et provinciis nobis rebellantibus. Oportet igitur te, O Bajothnoy [i.e. Baiju Noyan] ut excites eos et notifies eis quia hoc est mandatum Dei vivi et immortalis. Incessantur quoque innotescas eis super hoc petitionem tuam, et notifies in omni loco hoc meum mandatum, ubique nuntius poterit devenire; et quicumque contradixerit tibi, venabitur, et terra ipsius vastabitur, et certifico te quod quicumque non audierit hoc meum mandatum erit cæcus; et quicumque fecerit secundum istud meum iudicium, cognoscens pacem, et non facit eam erit claudus. Hæc mea ordinatio perve-

and returned to the court of the Pope after an absence of three years and seven months. The four missionaries were, on betaking themselves to the camp of Baiju, joined by two other Dominicans, namely Andrew of Lonjumel, who had already travelled in the East to propagate Christianity, and by Guichard of Cremona, whom they had met in Tiflis.

Kuyuk died in April 1248 at a distance of seven days from Bish-Balik, the capital of Oiguria, aged forty-three years. This prince was grave and severe; the announcement alone of his accession to the throne was sufficient to cause those to return to their allegiance who had during the weak administration of the empress-regent encroached on the supreme authority. Kuyuk, however, suffered much from rheumatism, but his taste for spirituous liquors, as well as for the pleasures of love, completed the ruin of his constitution. His habitual state of suffering precluded his engaging in the transaction of business, all of which he abandoned to the care of his ministers Kadak and Tchinkai, both of whom were Christians, and it has already been observed above that the former, having been the tutor of Kuyuk, inspired him with a predilection for Christians, which attracted many of them to his court; they obtained the more influence as the physicians of this Grand Khan also were professors of the same religion; Carpini even states²²⁰ that he saw before his tent a Christian chapel in which mass was said daily, and that Kuyuk salaried priests, who spread the rumour that he intended to become a convert to Christianity. Rashid-al-din complains that during the reign of Kuyuk the Moslems were abased.

EMBASSY OF ST. LOUIS.

There was yet a third mission, or rather embassy, to the court of Kuyuk, likewise of Dominicans, and the three friars charged with it were Andrew of Lonjumel, John, and William; but they arrived at their destination two years after the demise of Kuyuk, at the court of his widow the empress-regent. The manner in which this embassy originated was as follows:—Louis IX., king of France, known as St. Louis, happening to be in 1248 at Nicosia, the capital of the island of

niat ad notitiam cujuslibet ignorantis et scientis. Quicumque ergo audierit et observare neglexerit, destruetur, perdetur, et morietur. Manifestes igitur istud, O Bajothnoy, et quicumque voluerit utilitatem domus sue et prosequutus istud fuerit, et voluerit nobis serviro, salvabitur, et honorabitur, et quicumque audire istud contradixerit secundum voluntatem tuam faciens, eos corripere studeas."

²²⁰ *Voyage de Carpin en Tartarie*, ch. xi.; D'Ohsson, t. II., p. 236.

Cyprus, went thence to Egypt, where he gave, on Christmas day, audience to David and Mark, two men who pretended to be envoys from Ilitchikadai,—called Erchalchai and Ercaltay in contemporary narratives,—commander of the Mongol forces in Persia. They brought him, on the part of this general, a letter written in Persian, which the king caused to be translated into Latin by the Dominican friar Andrew of Lonjumel, who had some years before known David in the camp of Baiju. This letter begins with wishes for the prosperity of the reign of Louis, and for the success of the Christian armies against the Muhammadans; the Mongol general announces that he has come to Persia with the command to deliver the Christians from servitude, and to exempt them from tribute as well as from all other charges, to cause them to be honoured and respected, to hinder people from attempting to deprive them of their properties, to watch that their destroyed churches be reconstructed, that they be free to sound their brass gongs,—sometimes used by Oriental Christians instead of bells,—and that no one should hinder them from praying in peace for the reign of the Grand Khan. He requests the king of France, whom he calls *his son*, to place faith in his envoys, David and Mark, bearers of this letter, and lets him know that the *king of the earth* desires no distinction to be made between Latin, Greek, Armenian, Nestorian, and Jacobite, because all who adore the Cross are equal in his sight. Accordingly he requests the magnificent king to make no difference between them, and to extend his kindness to all Christians.²²¹

²²¹ The text of this letter is here inserted from Vincent, *Spec. Hist.*, lib. xxxi., cap. 91, as occurring in D'Ohsson, t. II., p. 237. It is given also in Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, t. III., pt. II., p. cv., where, however, all the piece here enclosed within brackets is omitted:—

“Per potentiam Dei excelsi, missi a Rege Terræ Khan, verba Ercaltay, regi magno provinciarum multarum [propugnatori strenuo orbis, gladio Christianitatis victori, religicnis apostolicæ defensori, legis evangelicæ filio, regi Francorum. Augeat Deus dominium suum et conservet ei regnum suum annis plurimis, et impleat voluntates suas in lege et in mundo nuno et in futurum, per veritatem divinæ potentiæ, conductricis hominum, et omnium Prophetarum et Apostolorum, amen, centum millia salutem et benedictionum. Ex hoc rogo quod recipiat salutationes istas, ut sint gratæ apud ipsum. Faciat Deus ut videam hunc regem magnificum qui applicuit. Creator autem excelsus causet occursum nostrum in caritate et facile faciat ut congregemur in unum. Post hanc autem salutationem noverit quod in hac epistola non est intentio nostra nisi utilitas Christianitatis, et corroboratio manus regum Christianorum Domino concedente. Et peto a Deo ut det victoriam exercitibus regum Christianitatis, et triumphet eos de adversariis suis contemnentibus crucem.] Ex parte autem regis sublimis (sublimet eum Deus) videlicet de presentia Kioukai (augeat Deus magnificentiam suam) venimus cum potestate et mandato, ut omnes Christiani sint liberi a servitute et tributo et angaria et pedagiis et consimilibus, et sint

This letter, which ought in every respect to have been considered a forgery, excited no suspicion in the mind of Louis IX., who sent a copy of it to Queen Blanche, and another addressed to the Pope, Innocent, through his legate, the cardinal Eude de Château-Raoul. When the Mongols invaded Persia they indiscriminately slaughtered the people, most of whom were Muhammadans, whence Christians drew the strange conclusion that the Mongols favoured their religion, and zealously propagated the rumour that the sovereign of the Tatars was a Christian, whom they were pleased to consider as an auxiliary; the crusaders likewise believed in these illusions. The Oriental Christians imagined that their delivery from the subjection in which the Moslems had kept them was close at hand, and unprincipled men circulated also writings confirming these delusions. A notice on Chengiz Khan, apparently written by a Nestorian Christian, in which he is represented as a Christian sovereign, and called David the son of John, was published by Eccard, but the original manuscript of four folio pages of parchment is still preserved at Zeitz, in Saxony; and there is no doubt that other pious fabrications of the same kind have been lost during the lapse of five centuries.

It appears that Louis IX. had either not heard or not believed the discouraging but tolerably faithful reports brought back by the friars whom the Pope had sent to the Mongols; therefore he received the impostors David and Mark with distinction in the presence of the members of his council, the legate of the Pope, and some other prelates; he was also credulous enough to believe their statements, according to which the Grand Khan, with many Mongol princes and generals, had already received baptism, as well as Ilchikadai, who they said had been sent by his master to conquer the Holy Land and to deliver Jerusalem. They assured the king of France, whose arrival in Cyprus had become known to their master, that the latter greatly desired his friendship,

in honore et reverentia, et nullus tangat possessiones eorum, et ecclesiæ destructæ reædificentur; ut pulsantur tabulæ et non audeat aliquis prohibere ut orent corde quieto et libenti pro regno nostro. Ista autem hora adhuc venimus pro utilitate Christianorum et custodia dante Deo excelso. Misimus autem hoc per nuntium fidelem nostrum, virum venerabilem Sab-ed-din Monfat David, et per Marcum, ut annuntient istos bonos rumores, et quæ sunt circa nos dicent ore ad nos. Filius autem recipiat verba eorum, et credat eis. Et in litteris suis Rex terræ (augeatur magnificentia sua) ita præcipit, quod in lege Dei non sit differentia inter Latinum et Græcum et Armenum, Nestorium et Jacobinum, et omnes qui adorant crucem; omnes enim sunt unum apud nos. Et sic petimus ut Rex magnificus non dividat inter ipsos, sed sit ejus pietas et clementia super omnes Christianos. Datum in fine Muharram, et erit bonum, concedente Domino excelso."

that he intended to besiege Bagh'dad the next spring, and that he requested the king to attack Egypt, so as to prevent aid being given to the Khalif from that country. Louis received all this news with joy, and resolved to send an embassy to the Grand Khan, which was first to go to the camp of Ilitchikadai. As David had insinuated that the most precious gift that could be sent to the Mongol emperor would be a chapel in the form of a tent, the king had one of that kind prepared of scarlet cloth adorned with rich embroideries, and representing the chief events of the history of the Lord Jesus Christ; also chalices, books, ornaments, and everything required for celebrating the sacred mysteries was provided. In the letters which Louis IX. wrote both to the Grand Khan and to his general Ilitchikadai, he exhorted them to fulfil the duties of respectful worship towards Him who had by his grace revealed to them the knowledge of his holy religion, and to persevere in their zeal. The legate of the Pope likewise wrote to the Grand Khan, as well as to his lieutenant-general in Persia, informing them that the holy Roman Church, having been informed of their conversion to the Catholic faith, had received them among the number of her beloved children; and that the Church exhorted them inviolably to conserve the orthodox faith, to acknowledge the Roman Church as the mother of all the others, and her head as the vicar of Jesus Christ, whom all nations professing the Christian faith are bound to obey. The persons entrusted with this embassy were, as has already been observed above, three Dominican friars, namely Andrew of Lonjumel, John, and William. The first-named monk had already been before to the camp of Baiju with Friar Anselm, and is said to have known "Saracenic," which may mean Arabic or Persian. The three ambassadors departed from Nicosia on the 10th February 1249, accompanied by David and Mark, as well as a suite composed of two clerks and two serjeants of the king.^{221a}

The ambassadors travelled to Mongolia by way of Transoxiana, and arrived—as has already been mentioned—at Karakorum after Kuyuk had already died. They handed the letters and presents they had brought to the empress-regent, and were kindly received at her court, but the result of their mission corresponded in no way to the expectations of Louis IX., to whom they returned in 1251, whilst he was engaged in fortifying Cæsarea in Palestine. The Mongol court considered the embassy and the presents brought by it as an act of homage

^{221a} D'Ohsson, t. II., p. 243.

on the part of the king of France, and the reply despatched by the messengers who accompanied the two Dominican friars on their return journey contained scarcely anything else but the customary summons issued to vassal kings,—but in this case addressed to Louis IX.,—to do homage and to pay tribute if he wished for peace. The missive is short, and is here inserted in the quaint language of Joinville:—“Bone chose est de pèz, quar en terre de pèz manguent cil qui vont à quatre pied l'erbe pèsiblement ; cil qui vont à deus labourent la terre, dont les biens viennent pèsiblement : et ceste chose te mandons nous pour toy aviser ; car tu ne peus avoir pèz si tu ne l'as à nous, et tel roy et tel (et moult en nommoient) et tous les avons mis à l'espée. Si te mandons que tu nous envoies tan de ton or et de ton argent chascun an, que tu nous retieignes à amis ; et se tu ne le fais, nous destruirons toy et ta gent aussi comme nous avons fait ceulx que nous avons devant nommez.”

After the demise of Kuyuk, who reigned only four years, his younger brother Kután—called Gudan in Ssanang Ssetsen's *History of the Eastern Mongols*—succeeded. He appears to have been very sickly, and was not a Grand Khan ; he is nevertheless much venerated among the northern and north-eastern Mongol tribes, as the reputed introducer of Buddhism among them. According to Ssanang Ssetsen this Khan had fallen sick by the influence of the Dragon-prince, and was told that “in the eternal country of the southern region Sakia Gungge Rgyaltsun dwells, who is said to be a celebrated man, perfectly versed in the five sciences,” and that he might recover his health by inviting him to Mongolia ; this being done, Sakia Pandita, one of the most celebrated and revered Lamas, and the first apostle of Buddhism among the Buddhists, made his appearance in the capacity of a Bodhisatva²²² with the lion's voice, who subjected the Dragon-prince to his power, and imparted to the Khagán the ordination, as well as his benediction, whereby he was instantly freed from his malady, and joy became universal. After that time many on the outer ends of the country of the Mongols were by the word of Sakia Pandita, who first propagated the religion there, converted to it.²²³ The ‘outer ends’ no doubt designate the southern parts, to which Buddhism first penetrated from Tibet.

²²² Bodhisatva is a title acquired with reference to the welfare of all animated beings.

²²³ p. 113.

MANGU.

Batu, the eldest son of Juji,—firstborn of Chenghiz,—had at last departed from the banks of the Volga to pay homage to Kuyuk, but when he had arrived near the Alaetai mountains he was apprised of the death of that sovereign. Accordingly he halted, on the plea that his horses stood in need of rest, and conferred the regency, according to the usage of the nation, on Ogul-Gaimish, the favourite sponse of the deceased emperor. He also convoked an assembly at Alaetai, in which Mangu, the firstborn of Tului and of Siurkukteni Beghi, was elected Grand Khan, but confirmed only in the second Kuriltai, held near the sources of the Onon and Kerulan rivers, in the ancient Yurt or territory of Chenghiz Khan. Mangu was thus installed, at the age of forty-three years, on the 1st July 1251, amid great festivities and rejoicings; on which occasion some Muhammadans were also permitted to slaughter animals according to their own law.²²¹

Mangu, the third son of Tului,—the youngest of Chenghiz,—appointed his younger brother Kubilai over the provinces south of the desert of Gobi, including the Chinese dominions, where he made Kai-yuun the chief ecclesiastic of Fo, *i.e.* Buddha, Tao-ka-li-cheng of the Tao-tse sect, but the highest Buddhist priest in the whole empire was the Tibetan Lama Namo, with the title of *Ho-shi*, *i.e.* 'teacher of the monarch.' Mangu nevertheless also confirmed the ordinances of Chenghiz Khan and of Ogotai, by which Christian, Muhammadan, and polytheistic priests were exempted from all imposts; but, to their great mortification, the Jews were excluded from the indulgence.²²²

How influential the Moslems had become at the court of Mangu appears from the fate of the Oigur king Salendi. In the time of Chenghiz namely, Batju the Khan of the Oigurs had paid him homage and followed him with his troops, first to Transoxiana and then to Tangut, for which services Chenghiz Khan bestowed on him the hand of his

²²¹ بعضی از اهل اسلام حیوانات را بروجه شرع ذبح میکردند

Mirkhond, vol. V., p. 55.

²²² وسادات عظام و علمای انام و مشایخ باحترام و دانشمندان نصاری و از عامه خلایق کسانی که بنابر کبر من از کسب و کار عاجز آمده باشند از تکلیف دیوانی و مونات سلطانی مرفوع القلم باشند و بدای دوام دولت پادشاه اشتغال نمایند و یهود را از سیرور عالی و انعام خویش مایوس ساخت

Ibidem, p. 65.

grows there plentifully ; the fire was kindled with cowdung. The Grand Khan was seated on a small bed, dressed in a fur robe very glossy, as if made of seal-skin. He was a man of middling stature, with a somewhat flat and turned-up nose, aged about forty-five years. His wife, young and beautiful enough, was seated near him, with one of his daughters named Cyrina, who was about to marry, but was ugly enough ; on another bed near them several small children were reposing. The Khan asked us whether we liked to drink *terasîn*, a beverage made of rice, or *kara-kumis*, pure mares' milk, or *bull*, which is made of honey ; because in winter they use these four kinds of beverages. I replied that we were not very fond of drinking, but that we would be content with anything His Grandeur would order us to be served with. Then he commanded *terasîn*, made of rice, as clear and sweet as white wine, to be given to us, which I tasted to obey him ; but our interpreter had, to our great dismay, been served by the steward so well that he knew not what he did and what he said. After that, the Khan had several kinds of birds of prey brought forth, which he placed on his fist and looked at for a considerable time. Then he ordered us to speak. He had a Nestorian for his interpreter ; we also had ours, who, as I said, was rather the worse for wine. Having accordingly fallen on our knees, I said to him that we rendered thanks to God for having been pleased to bring us so far in order to come to behold and to salute the great Mangu Khan, to whom he had given great power on earth, but that we supplicated also the favour from our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we all live and die, to be pleased to grant His Majesty a happy and long life—for all they desire is that people should offer prayers for them to obtain a long life. I also added that we had in our country heard that Sartak was a Christian, whereat all Christians were much pleased, but especially the King of France, who had for that reason sent us with a letter of peace and friendship to him, in order to bear witness to our character and to get permission for us to remain in his country, the more so as we are by the statutes of our order bound to teach men how to live according to the law of God : that hereupon Sartak had sent us to his father Batu, and Batu to His Imperial Majesty, whom God had given a great realm on earth, and whom we very humbly supplicate to be pleased to allow us to live in his dominions in order to carry out the commands and the service of God, and to pray for him, for his wives, and for his children." Rubruquis continued for some time longer to talk in this strain, and stated that, as his companion was in a great state of exhaustion, they would

previously, and condemned to death with the other officers of the empress-regent, *Ogul-Gainish*, whose secretary he had been; but as the emperor had, for the sake of the recovery of his mother, who was dangerously ill, granted pardon to all criminals that were to be executed on the same day, the life of Bela was likewise spared. Siurkukteni Beghi nevertheless died in the month of February 1252; her son Mangu had bestowed on her the title of empress, and, although a Christian, she was much respected by Musalmans for her liberality, as has already been narrated above. She had enjoyed great authority as early as the time of Ogotai, who respected her opinions so much that he always consulted her in important affairs, and when she was absent he treated her envoys with the utmost distinction; he even asked her to marry his son Kuyuk, who would in that case have become the husband of his own aunt; but the princess sent a reply that the education of her own children demanded her whole attention, and that she was sorry to feel herself compelled to disobey him.

It may have been observed from what has preceded that the princesses of the imperial family enjoyed great privileges, and were sometimes made regents. Marriages with them were concluded for political reasons, and their personal charms or age could have been of no very great importance where polygamy flourished so largely, and a great choice of wives as well as of concubines was always at hand for the pleasures of love. The princess Siurkukteni Beghi lived mostly with her fourth son, Arik Boga, in a district situated near the Altai mountains; but when she died she was buried near her husband, Tului, and Chenghiz Khan. In the same year in which this great princess died, her son Kubilai, younger brother of the reigning emperor Mangu, was made governor of Ho-nan and Kung-chang-fu, in the province of Shen-si, which connection with China, as well as the civilization of that country, superior in every respect to that of the Mongols, accounts for his love of Chinese secular as well as religious peculiarities, as will be shown further on. In the year 1245 (A.H. 643) the Mongols invaded Sind from Afghanistan and besieged the town of Aulah, but when they were informed that forces were marching against them from Delhi, and had already approached the Byah river, they evacuated the country.²²⁷

در سنه ثلث و اربعين و ستمايه خبر رسيد كه لشكر مغول از جانب قندهار و طالان بنوازي سد آمده او چه را محاصره کرده اند سلطان امرای خود را جمع کرده بصره نام بجانب او چه نهضت

MISSION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC FRIAR RUBRUQUIS.

The information gathered and published by the cordelier Rubruquis, *alias* Ruisbroek, after a short sojourn among the Mongols,—he arrived at the end of 1253 at the court of the emperor Mangu, and left it in June 1254,—is of a very interesting character, but allowances are naturally to be made for his personal bias, and the times in which he lived. The credulity of Louis IX., the king of France, appears not to have been shaken by the ill-success of his first embassy, and its return in 1251 with a letter from the Mongol court which must have been very distasteful to him, and he determined to send another. This holy king had, namely during his stay in Palestine, been informed that Sartak, the elder son of Batu, was a Christian; wherefore, considering that missionaries could, under the ægis of this prince, spread the Christian religion among the Mongols, he gave letters of recommendation to a cordelier named Rubruquis, in which he asked permission for the friar to remain in Tartary for the purpose of preaching Christianity. This monk left Palestine in the year 1253, in company with another friar called Bartholomew of Cremona and of a cleric. The party embarked at Constantinople and landed at Sudak in the Crimea, from which place the first Mongol encampment was reached in three days, and it astonished the friars so much that they fancied they had arrived in another world. The next stage, however, was of longer duration, as they did not reach the camp of Sartak, which was at some distance from the Volga, till after a journey of two months, and during all that time they met with no villages, nor any kinds of buildings unless the tumuli in which Cumans were buried might be called such. When the friars arrived, an officer of Sartak who was a Nestorian Christian introduced them to that prince, on whom they endeavoured to make a good impression by presenting themselves in an imposing manner. Rubruquis had put on his best dress with the richest ornaments, and held in his hand a Bible given him by the king, as well as a psalter of great price adorned with coloured images, presented to him by the queen; his companion bore a missal and a crucifix, whilst the cleric carried a censer. They were, according to the usage of the Mongols, warned not to touch the threshold of the door, and advised to sing some canticle of benediction

فرمود چون بکنار آب بیاہ رسید لشکر مغول حصار اوچہ را گذاشتہ
روی بانہزام آوردند سلطان مظفر و منصور بدہلی مراجعت نمودہ

Ferishla, Bombay Government lithogr. ed., vol. I., p. ۱۲۲ *infra*.

to the prince ; accordingly, they entered intoning the *Salve Regina*. When Sartak and his wives had satisfied their curiosity by examining the religious vestments and books, Rubruquis handed the letters of Louis IX. with two translations, the one in Arabic and the other in Syriac, to the prince, who, after taking cognizance of their contents, sent him on the next day the message that as he intended to stay in the country, he would be obliged to obtain permission to do so from Batu, his father, to whose court he would be conducted.

Rubruquis observed that Sartak kept some Nestorian priests near him, who officiated, but that he was not a Christian, and says, " I think that he rather mocks Christians and despises them." This monk also complains, as his predecessor John de Plano Carpino did, about the want of provisions, and states that during the four days the friars stayed at the court of Sartak they obtained nothing to eat or to drink except once, when they were given a little sour milk of mares, named *kumis* ; hence they gladly left the camp of Sartak and travelled to the court of Batu, on the banks of the Volga, as they had been ordered. Rubruquis was surprised to see the camp of that prince occupying as much space as a large town, and its environs to a distance of three or four leagues covered by a multitude of people. Rubruquis was conducted to the court of Batu, who had ordered a large tent to be pitched, because his house was too small to hold the assembled court. " We were always warned," says Rubruquis, " to take care not to touch the ropes of the tent, because they consider them like the threshold of a house. We remained there barefooted in our costumes, with uncovered heads, as a spectacle in the sight of everybody. Brother John de Plano Carpino had been there already before us, but he had changed his costume in order not to be slighted, as he was the envoy of the Holy Father. Afterwards we were led as far as the middle of this tent, but not asked to make any bows nor to bend the knee, as ambassadors sent here are in the habit of doing. We remained thus in his presence for about the length of a *Miserere*, all keeping perfectly silent. Batu was on a high seat or throne of the size of a bed, all gilded, and provided with three steps ; one of his wives was near him, and the other men were seated to the right and left of this lady. As the women were not numerous enough to fill one of the sides,—because only those of Batu were present,—the men occupied the rest of the place. At the entrance of the tent there was a bench with *kumis*, as well as large saucers of gold and of silver enriched with precious stones. Batu looked at us hard, and we likewise considered

him attentively. His face was somewhat reddish. He ordered me to speak, whereupon our guide told us to bend our knees and to talk in that position. Accordingly I bent one knee to the ground, as before a man, but he beckoned to me to kneel down on both, which I did, as I feared to disobey, but in this position I imagined that I was praying to God and began my speech as follows :—"My lord ! We request God, from whom all good things come, and who has bestowed all these temporal advantages upon you, that he may hereafter be pleased also to grant you the celestial ones, the more so as the former are vain and useless without the latter. You must know, my lord, that you will never obtain these unless you become a Christian, because God himself has said that "he who believes and is baptized will be saved, but he who believes not will be condemned." At these words the prince smiled modestly, but all the Mongols began to clap their hands and mocked us. Silence having been restored, I told him that I had paid a visit to his son, as we had heard that he was a Christian, and that I had brought him a letter on the part of the king of France, my sovereign master, who had sent me to him, and whose motive he ought to be aware of. Having heard this, he made me get up, and inquired after the name of your majesty [the narrative of Rubruquis is addressed to Louis IX.], after those of my companions, and my own, all of which my interpreter caused to be written. He also told me that he had heard of your majesty's having left your country with an army to make war. I told him that this was true, but that it was done to wage war against the Saracens, who were in possession of the holy city of Jerusalem, and desecrated the house of God. Hereupon he asked me whether you had ever sent him envoys, and I replied in the negative. Then he caused us to be served with some of their milk to drink, and they deem it a great favour when he causes persons to drink *kumis* in his house with him. As I looked fixedly down to the ground he ordered me to lift up my eyes. After that we went out."

The audience being over, Rubruquis was told that Batu dared not allow him to remain in the country,—that the permission of the emperor Mangu was required, and that Rubruquis must go to his court to demand it. The monks followed in their wagons the court of Batu during six weeks along the river Volga, but departed on the 15th September on horseback, with the son of a chief of a thousand, whom Batu had ordered to conduct them to the imperial court, and they spent three months on the journey. The monks suffered a great deal of hunger, thirst, cold, and fatigue as they travelled over the vast

plains which had before the Mongol conquest formed the territory of the Kankalis, Turkestan or Kara Khitai, the Oigur and the Nayman country, till they at last reached, on the 27th December, the court of the Grand Khan, which was at that time a few days' journey to the south of Karakorum. During the journey they were gratuitously provided with food, horses, and wagons in every place by way of requisition, according to the established rule, because all persons sent by the princes of the royal blood were, like the envoys of the emperor, maintained on the route at the expense of the people. The officer of Batu was everywhere honourably received; the inhabitants of the towns came out to meet him with food and drink; several persons also went before him singing and clapping their hands.

As soon as the two monks arrived they were questioned about the motive of their journey, but, in spite of all they could say to the contrary, the officers of the emperor remained persuaded that they had been sent to ask for peace and to offer submission to their master. Rubruquis replied to them that he was not an ambassador of the king of France, but a missionary provided with a letter of recommendation from his sovereign to the prince Sartak, whom he had believed to be a Christian. Louis IX., having been made aware by John de Plano Carpino that the sending of an embassy would by the Mongols be regarded as an act of submission, had recommended Rubruquis not to encourage them in the belief that he was an ambassador. Rubruquis also states that the Mongols were proud enough to imagine that the whole world sought their favour; they asked whether plenty of oxen, sheep, and horses could be got in France, just as if they had been ready to go there at once and to carry off everything. The same question was asked several times by the people of Sartak and of Batu.

On the 4th January 1254 the missionaries were admitted to an audience of the Grand Khan, and Rubruquis says, "The felt curtain which is before the gate of the palace having been lifted, we entered, and, as we were yet in the Christmas season, we chanted the hymn 'A solis ortus cardine,' &c. When we had finished singing, they examined us thoroughly to see whether we had not concealed some knives about us, and forced even our interpreter to leave his belt and his knife with the porter. Near the entrance there was a bench with *kumis* on it, and further on our interpreter was made to stand up, and we were told to sit down on a bench opposite to the ladies. This place was carpeted all over with cloth of gold; in the centre there was a chafing-dish full of a fire made of the roots of wormwood, which

grows there plentifully ; the fire was kindled with cowdung. The Grand Khan was seated on a small bed, dressed in a fur robe very glossy, as if made of seal-skin. He was a man of middling stature, with a somewhat flat and turned-up nose, aged about forty-five years. His wife, young and beautiful enough, was seated near him, with one of his daughters named Cyrina, who was about to marry, but was ugly enough ; on another bed near them several small children were reposing. The Khan asked us whether we liked to drink *terasın*, a beverage made of rice, or *kara-kumis*, pure mares' milk, or *bull*, which is made of honey ; because in winter they use these four kinds of beverages. I replied that we were not very fond of drinking, but that we would be content with anything His Grandeur would order us to be served with. Then he commanded *terasın*, made of rice, as clear and sweet as white wine, to be given to us, which I tasted to obey him ; but our interpreter had, to our great dismay, been served by the steward so well that he knew not what he did and what he said. After that, the Khan had several kinds of birds of prey brought forth, which he placed on his fist and looked at for a considerable time. Then he ordered us to speak. He had a Nestorian for his interpreter ; we also had ours, who, as I said, was rather the worse for wine. Having accordingly fallen on our knees, I said to him that we rendered thanks to God for having been pleased to bring us so far in order to come to behold and to salute the great Mangu Khan, to whom he had given great power on earth, but that we supplicated also the favour from our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we all live and die, to be pleased to grant His Majesty a happy and long life—for all they desire is that people should offer prayers for them to obtain a long life. I also added that we had in our country heard that Sartak was a Christian, whereat all Christians were much pleased, but especially the King of France, who had for that reason sent us with a letter of peace and friendship to him, in order to bear witness to our character and to get permission for us to remain in his country, the more so as we are by the statutes of our order bound to teach men how to live according to the law of God ; that hereupon Sartak had sent us to his father Batu, and Batu to His Imperial Majesty, whom God had given a great realm on earth, and whom we very humbly supplicate to be pleased to allow us to live in his dominions in order to carry out the commands and the service of God, and to pray for him, for his wives, and for his children." Rubruquis continued for some time longer to talk in this strain, and stated that, as his companion was in a great state of exhaustion, they would

not return during the severity of the winter ; he also mentioned that they had neither silver nor gold to offer ; but at last the intoxication of the interpreter, who had to repeat all the monk said in another language, and again to interpret the Khan's replies, increased to such a degree that Rubruquis could no more understand what he said, and the Khan having himself become somewhat tipsy the audience terminated.

Rubruquis narrates that the Nestorian priests who were about Mangu were extremely ignorant, superstitious, and fond of drink. At the banquets of the court, Christian priests dressed with their ornaments entered first, prayed for the emperor and blessed his cup. When they retired Muhammadan priests were introduced, and after them pagan ministers, who officiated in their turn. "On the day of the octave of the Epiphany," says Rubruquis, "the chief wife of Mangu, named Kutuktai, came to the chapel of the Nestorians with several ladies, her eldest son Baltu, and her little children. All prostrated themselves on their faces to the ground, touched the images with their right hands which they carried to their mouths, and shook hands with all the persons present, according to the manner of the Nestorians. Also Mangu visited this chapel and sat down with his wife on a sofa placed before the altar. He made Rubruquis and his companion sing the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* and soon afterwards retired, but his wife remained in the chapel and made presents to all the Christians. *Terasin*, wine, and *kumis* were also brought, and the empress taking a cup knelt down and asked for a benediction ; whilst she drank the priests chanted. The latter drank in their turn and became intoxicated ; in this manner the rest of the day was spent. Towards the evening the empress, being drunk like the others, retired to her chariot and went away accompanied by the priests, who sang, or rather howled.

"On Saturday, the eve of Septuagesima, which is the time of Easter among the Armenians," continues Rubruquis, "we went with the Nestorian priests and an Armenian monk in procession to the palace of Mangu. As we entered, a servant came out bearing shoulder-blades of a sheep burnt in fire and blackened like charcoal, at which I was greatly astonished, and having asked for the meaning of this was told that in this country nothing is ever undertaken without first consulting these bones." Here Rubruquis describes the manner in which Mangu vaticinated from these shoulder-blades, which, having already been sufficiently explained above, it would be superfluous to repeat in this place. When the procession was admitted to the presence of Mangu, the Nestorian priests gave him incense, which he himself placed in the

vase, and they fumigated him. They also blessed his cup ; all were obliged to do the same ; and lastly he made also all the priests drink. After that they went to the quarters of Baltu, who leaped from his seat as soon as he perceived them, threw himself on the ground, which he touched with his forehead to revere the crucifix, which he had, after rising up, placed on a piece of new silk cloth, and set up in a high place in front of himself. His tutor, who was a Nestorian priest and a true drunkard, had drilled him to do all this. Then he made the priests sit down, and after quaffing a cup blessed by them he made them drink also. Thence they went successively to the court of the second, the third, and the fourth wives of the emperor. All threw themselves on the ground as soon as they perceived the crucifix, adored it, and had it then placed in an elevated spot on a carpet of silk : this is all the priests had taught them of Christianity ; in all other things these princesses followed the practices of the soothsayers and of the idolaters. On Easter Eve, *i.e.* on the 19th April 1254, more than sixty persons were, to the great joy of all the Christians, baptized in very good order at Karakorum.²²⁵

During his sojourn at the imperial court, Rubruquis observed that Mangu and the members of his family were assisting equally at the ceremonies of the Christians, the Muhammadans, and the Buddhists ; that they knew of Christianity only some external practices, such as the use of frankincense, the benediction of the cup, and the adoration of the crucifix, whilst they entertained, besides the Káms or soothsayers, priests of the three religions just mentioned, in order to be more sure of obtaining the benefits they desired, and to avoid the calamities which threatened them, without ever suspecting that religious practices could have anything else for their object. The adherents of these three religions endeavoured to make proselytes for them among the Mongols, and were, above all, anxious to gain the favour of the emperor ; but Mangu, faithful to the maxim of Chenghiz Khan, showed preference to no religion, and treated them all equally. One day he said to Rubruquis, whom he was desirous to convince of the utility of toleration, that all men who were at his court adored the same God, and that therefore all ought to be left at liberty to honour him in their own way, as the benefits which he confers on the professors of various sects causes each sect to believe itself the most favoured. Such was indeed the case during the reign of Mangu ; thus the Moslems who happened to

²²⁵ *Relation de Rubruquis*, ch. 36-42.

be at the court of Mangu determined to celebrate the Muharrem of A.H. 650 (A.D. 1252) in a most solemn manner, and assembled in front of the imperial Urdu for that purpose, where they held their *namáz*, over which their high judge, Jemal-al-din Muhammad of Khojand, presided. After the *namáz* this judge and prelate entered the Urdu and prayed for the emperor. Mangu caused him to repeat the prayer several times, and presented the Moslems, on the occasion of this festival, with several cartloads of rich clothes, and coins of gold and silver. He intended to mark this day also by an act of clemency, by sending out couriers into the provinces with orders to liberate all persons languishing in the prisons. Two Christian historians, Hayton and Orpelian, on the other hand, bear witness that Mangu favoured Christians most, whilst Buddhists had no doubt that the emperor preferred their religion; and the history of China really shows that about that time Buddhism was already becoming the religion of the state.

Rubruquis observes that the chief of the Mongol priests or soothsayers was lodged a stone's throw from the pavilion of the emperor, and had the chariots on which the idols were carried in his keeping. These soothsayers meddled with astrology and knew how to predict eclipses: on the appearance of a similar phenomenon they commenced to beat drums and cymbals with much shouting. They indicated the lucky and unlucky days for all kinds of affairs, and nothing was undertaken without their advice. They purified by fire all objects destined for the court, as well as the presents offered to the emperor, of which they were allowed to take a certain portion on their own account. They officiated at the birth of children to draw their horoscopes, and their soothsaying was resorted to for the curing of diseases. If they desired to ruin a man, they had only to accuse him of having by witchcraft brought on the evil complained of. When they were interrogated they called forth demons by beating drums, and furious contortions of their bodies; then they fell down in an ecstasy, and pretended to have received from their familiar spirits the reply, which they proclaimed as an oracle.²¹⁰

This missionary reports some traits of the malignity of these *Khans*, and of the superstitions of the Mongols, narrated to him at Karakorum by a lady of Metz, named Paquette, who had been taken in Hungary, and attached some years to the service of one of the wives of Mangu who was a Christian. This princess had received splendid furs

²¹⁰ *Relation de Rubruquis*, ch. 45.

as a present. The soothsayers having purified them by fire, as customary, retained a part of them ; but the woman in charge of the wardrobe of the princess considered they had taken more than their due, and informed her mistress, who reproached the Káms. A few days afterwards this lady fell dangerously ill, and the soothsayers having been consulted on her case declared that she had been bewitched by the woman who had revealed their theft. She was accordingly seized and tortured seven days in order to elicit a confession of the crime she was accused of ; meanwhile, however, the empress died. The imprisoned woman requested that her life might be taken, that she might follow her mistress, to whom, she protested, no evil had ever been caused by her ; to this, however, the emperor was unwilling to accede, and had her released. Then the Káms selected another victim ; they accused of the death of the princess the nurse of her daughter ; she was the wife of one of the chief Nestorian priests. On being put to the torture this woman confessed that she had indeed made use of a charm to gain the favour of her mistress, but denied ever having done anything to hurt her ; she was nevertheless condemned to death and executed. Some time after this, one of the wives of Mangu having been delivered of a son, the soothsayers, who were invited to draw his horoscope, predicted that he would enjoy long life, that he would become a great monarch, and that he would have a very prosperous reign. The infant died, however, after a few days, and the disappointed mother called for the soothsayers and reproached them bitterly. They excused themselves by saying that the nurse who had been a short time ago executed—as just narrated—brought on the destruction of the child by sorcery, and that they had in a vision seen her taking it away. The spouse of Mangu, who had become furious at these words, determined to wreak her vengeance on the children of the nurse. The unfortunate woman had left a son and a daughter. The empress ordered the one to be slain by a man, and the other by a woman. When Mangu heard of these executions he became furious with rage ; he reproached the empress for having of her own accord caused the death of these two persons, and had her imprisoned in a dungeon for seven days, at the expiration of which she was exiled from the court for one month. At the same time the emperor had the head of the man cut off who killed the son of the nurse, and ordered it to be tied to the neck of the woman who had slain the girl ; then she was beaten with firebrands and killed.²²²

²²² *Relation de Rubruquis, ch. 47.*

Towards Easter, Rubruquis followed the Grand Khan to Karakorum. His opinion about this city has already been given in a footnote as a quotation from Yule's *Ser Marco Polo*, p. 204 ; he adds, however, that it contained a large number of Christians, such as Hungarians, Russians, Alans, Georgians, and Armenians, most of whom were no doubt originally captives taken by the Mongols, who highly prized artisans of all kinds. After a sojourn of five months at the imperial court, Rubruquis prepared to depart, and he does not seem to have been at all anxious to obtain permission to remain longer. Mangu desired to send ambassadors with him, but he declared that he could not guarantee their lives across countries where travellers could not hope for any security. Accordingly the Khan determined to send only a reply to the letter of the king of France, and causing Rubruquis to drink he gave him leave to depart ; and the friar says that on going away he considered that if God had vouchsafed him miracles such as Moses had performed in ancient times, he might perhaps have converted Mangu.

The substance of the letter of Mangu to Louis IX., written in the Mongol language but in Oigur characters, is as follows :—

“Such is the command of the eternal God. There is but one God in heaven, and one sovereign on earth, Chenghiz Khan the son of God. Make it known wherever ears can hear and horses can walk that those whom my orders reach and who do not obey them, or arm themselves to resist them, will have eyes and shall not see, will have hands but shall not be able to make use of them, will have feet but shall be cripples. Such are the commandments of the eternal God, and of the God of the earth, the sovereign of the Mongols. This commandment is addressed by Mangu Khan to Louis king of France, to all the lords and priests, and to all the people of the realm of France, that they may understand my words and the commandments of the eternal God to Chenghiz Khan, which have not yet reached you. A man named David has visited you as an ambassador of the Mongols ; he was an impostor. You have sent with him your ambassadors to Kuyuk Khan, after whose death they have arrived, and whom his widow Gaimish sent [back] to you ; but how could this woman, more vile than a slut, know anything about the affairs of peace or war, and what concerns the welfare of the empire ? These two monks have come on your behalf to Sartak, who sent them to Batu, and the latter sent them to me, because Mangu Khan is the supreme chief of the Mongols. We should have liked to send ambassadors with your priests, but they have made us

understand that between this country and yours there are several unfriendly nations and dangerous roads, wherefore they apprehended that our ambassadors might not reach you safely, but they offered to bear our letter containing our orders to king Louis. Accordingly we address to you through your priests the commands of the eternal God. When you have understood them you will send us your ambassadors to let us know whether you wish for peace or war with us. If you disregard the commands of God under the impression that your country is very distant, that you are protected by high mountains, by vast and deep seas, which may facilitate difficult matters, and bring near that which is distant, it is just the thing which we are able to accomplish." The last portion of this letter is somewhat obscure, which may be due to the ignorance of the interpreter, but, judging from other documents of analogous contents, it appears on the whole to be a tolerably faithful reflex of the original.

Rubruquis took his departure in the month of June 1254 with the above letter of Mangu, by whose orders he proceeded to the court of Batu. In this journey, which lasted seventy days, he saw only one village, where he could, however, obtain no bread; sometimes he had for two or three days no other nourishment to subsist upon except *kumis*. After having for several weeks followed the nomadic court of Batu, Rubruquis took the route to the Caucasus to return to his convent at St. Jean d'Acre, whence he sent a narrative of his journey to Louis IX., who had departed to France.

HAYTON'S ACCOUNT OF MANGU.

During the same year in which the friar Rubruquis left the court of Mangu, Hayton the king of Armenia, who had up to this time been hindered by various circumstances from leaving his dominions, arrived to pay homage to Mangu personally. He first proceeded viâ Derbend to salute Batu and Sartak, then he betook himself to the imperial court, where he was received very honourably; but his stay was not long, as he departed fifty days after his arrival, with letters patent confirming him on the throne of Armenia, and with an imperial order according to which not only was the tribute imposed on Armenia diminished, but the whole clergy of that country were altogether exempted from every tax. A descendant and namesake of this king of Armenia states in his *Oriental History*, ch. 23, that the first prayer addressed by king Hayton to the emperor of the Mongols was that he should make a profession of the Christian religion, which

corroborates the statement of Rubruquis that, although favouring Christians, Mangu had never been baptized.

The same Armenian author continues :—" This demand with six others having been submitted to Mangu, he assembled his council, the king of Armenia being present, to whom he replied as follows :—" As the sovereign of Armenia has come to our empire from a very great distance, it will be reasonable to grant him his requests, especially in what is just. Accordingly we declare unto you, O king of Armenia, that your demands are agreeable to us, and that we shall execute them by the aid of God. Firstly, I, the emperor and lord of the Tatars, shall get myself baptized. I shall hold the Christian faith, and shall so arrange matters that my subjects will do the same, although I shall use force towards no one." Hayton goes, however, further, and states that Mangu " was actually baptized on that occasion by a bishop who was the chancellor of the realm of Armenia ; and all the people of the emperor's house were baptized at the same time, as well as many nobles of both sexes, some of whom he appointed to follow his brother Hulagu for the aid of the Holy Land." ²²⁰ Something of this kind may indeed have taken place as a mere court ceremony pleasing to many, but without any practical results ; wherefore it would perhaps be unfair entirely to deny the baptism of Mangu, as some European authors have done ; it must at the same time be admitted that the religion of those members of the imperial family who are well known to have been Christians must have been of a very lax kind indeed, and homologizing with Mongol usages. How else could the Christian princess Dukuz-Khátún consent to become the wife of Hulagu, the son of her husband Tului by another Christian wife,—contemporaneous with her,—Siurkukteni Beghi ? When Mangu sent Hulagu Khan to govern Persia he gave him Dukuz-Khátún, the widow of Tului, for a wife. She occupied the first rank among the spouses of Hulagu, and always protected Christians according to the best of her ability. She died on the 17th June 1265 (1st Ramaḍan 663), and consequently outlived only four months and eleven days her husband Hulagu, to whom Mangu had given the following parting advice when he went to Persia :—" Protected by the power of the supreme God, thou art to subjugate the lands of thy foes, that thou mayst have at thy disposal a great number of encampments for the winter and the summer. Fail not in all circumstances to consult Dukuz Khátún and to take

²²⁰ Ass., *Bibl. Or.*, t. III., pt. II., p. ciii. ; *Aytonus, Lib. de Tart.*, cap. 24.

her advice."²³¹ This shows how highly even Mangu esteemed the capacity of the lady, which, rather than her personal charms, must have been the reason of her espousal to Hulagu. She was of the royal race of Kerait, and daughter of Aitku, the son of Wang—popularly Unk—Khan.²³²

It has been observed already that incense and lamps were kept burning day and night before the images of deceased princes, according to the Chinese fashion; these ancestral temples also Mangu visited, and he is known to have offered a solemn sacrifice to heaven in the edifice dedicated to his grandfather Chenghiz. Mangu died in 1529, in the fifty-second year of his age and the ninth of his reign, near Tiao-yui, situated one league east of Ho-cheu. Authors agree that he, like most of the Chenghizian princes, was a great drunkard; Mirkhond states that he drank to avoid an epidemic.²³³ And Rashid-al-din states that he was carried off by the dysentery that prevailed in the army.

KUBILAI.

Chinese influences had commenced to manifest themselves among the Mongols long before the accession of Kubilai,—proclaimed Khan in 1260,—younger brother of Mangu, to the throne, in the adoption of various civil and religious usages, but the Mongols who were garrisoning the Chinese provinces of the empire felt them most, even as far as superstitions are concerned. Thus we find Kubilai charging already in 1256 a learned Chinese monk and astrologer, who possessed his whole confidence, to select a place of residence for him, and to build a palace, as well as sacred edifices, on the northern bank of the river Lu-wan, to the east of Hwan-cheu. This new city, situated about twenty-two leagues north-east of the northernmost gate of the Great Wall, called Tu-shi-ken, was likewise surrounded by an *enceinte*, and received in 1260 the name of Kai-ping-fu, better known as Shang-tu, which served also to designate the river Lu-wan, but is at present called Jao-naiman-sumeh. In the same year also the travels of the two brothers Polo

۱۳۱ مملکت یا قیانرا بقوت خدای بزرگی بکشی تا یا یلاق و قشلاق
شما بسیار کردد و در عموم قضا یا با دقوز خاتون مشورت و کنکاج کن
Collection Orientale, جامع التواریخ pp. ۹۱ seq.

²³¹ St. Martin, p. 289.

۱۳۲ منکر قاتان جهت دفع طاعون بخوردن شراب گلگون مشغول شد.

۱ *V.* p. ۵۹ infra.

began, who were afterwards joined by Marco, and who again arrived in Europe in 1269, after an absence of about nine years.²³⁴

Kaidu, the grandson of Ogotai, refused to acknowledge the authority of Kubilai; he governed in eastern Turkestan and central Siberia, but kept even the north-west frontiers of Kubilai's dominions perpetually in alarm; also Marco Polo says that he is "at bitter enmity with the Khan,"²³⁵ but commits the blunders of calling him the nephew of Kubilai, and Chagatai his brother, whom he makes also a Christian; all of which have been pointed out by Colonel Yule, as well as the fact that Marco himself had never been at Samarkand,—visited by his father and uncle in their first journey,—although he says that the Christians of that city rejoiced greatly when Chagatai—his Sigatay—was baptized and built a great church in honour of John the Baptist.

Also Arik-Buga disputed the throne for some time with Kubilai, but succumbed and made his formal submission in 1264, when the reconciliation of the two brothers took place; this is, however, not admitted by Mirkhond, who asserts that Arik-Buga died a prisoner.²³⁶

Besides the princes of Kubilai's own family, also other vassals of the empire—which was being gradually split into several large and afterwards into smaller monarchies—now and then revolted, and those who acknowledged the sovereignty of the Grand Khan and paid him homage nominally were often practically independent; moreover the Mongols of the western provinces gradually began to make their profession of Islām, Barku the son of Juji, who reigned in the steppes about the Volga, having been the first to do so. In the eastern portions

²³⁴ The Pope had given the two brothers Polo also two friars, who returned when they saw the dangers of the road, so that they arrived alone at the court of Kubilai in Kai-ping-fu with Marco, who calls this city Kemonfu.

²³⁵ Yule's *Ser Marco Polo*, p. 170.

« قریلا قآن بروفق تقریر خطائیان فرمود که چهار دیواری از
خارمغیلان ترتیب دادند و ارق بوکارا با خواص و مقربان و خوانین
و فرزندان در آن وحشت آباد فرستاد و طایفه از زبانیه دوزخ
و عقارت که در صورت انسانی مخلوق شده بودند برایشان گماشت جهان
روشن و فراخ بر ارق بوکا تنگ و تاریک گشت و راه خروج و دخول
بروی مسدود شد مگر در ایام جشن و سور که بیرون آمدی و
بروایتی مدت یکسال در آن محنت جایی بسر بردی آخر الامر بچنگ
عزرائیل گرفتار شد. Vol. V., p. ۶۲

of the empire Chinese influences began to manifest themselves already after 1234 under Ogotai, when Peking was taken, but the task of conquering southern China and overthrowing the Sang dynasty—which had lasted 320 years—was left to Kubilai and accomplished by him, and is the most celebrated event of his reign. Hence it is no wonder that Kubilai, who was educated in China and constantly resided there, adopted many of its laws and usages. In 1263 he built at Yan-king a large ancestral temple sacred to the manes of Chenghiz Khan and his father Yessugai, as well as to those of the four sons of Chenghiz, namely Ogotai, Juji, Chagatai, and Tului, to all of whom he applied honourable Chinese titles, a special hall being assigned to each of them, where his title of honour was painted on a tablet suspended from the wall, and another with the name and surname of his chief wife. This new ancestral temple was visited by Kubilai for the first time in 1263, to pay homage to his predecessors, but it was completely finished only in 1266, when he appointed priests to recite prayers at stated times in it. By the advice of his mandarins, Kubilai gave, according to the Chinese fashion, a name to his dynasty, and called it *Yuan*, i.e. "Origin." He was a patron of learning, and had already in 1263 established a department of public instruction; he also surrounded himself with numerous Chinese scholars, and founded an academy, according to the usage of the emperors of China; under him also foreigners obtained employment without regard to their religion; and the country, which had hitherto been governed on an entirely military footing, now enjoyed a civil administration. Kubilai, who was the fifth Grand Khan, died in 1294, at the age of eighty, and after a reign of thirty-five years; in the simultaneous patronage of various religions he followed the policy of his house, first prescribed by his grandfather Chenghiz.

BUDDHISM UNDER KUBILAI.

As to the bulk of the Mongols, no religion in the world was less suited to attract their attention or homage than the philosophical tenets of Confucius, but they would have been impressed by the superstitious practices of the devotees of Tao-sse, had not the priests of Buddha from Oiguria and Tibet, who were greatly superior to the Káms of the Mongols, invaded the encampments of the Chenghizian princes, and supplanted their ministrations. As to Kubilai himself, he is believed to have made his profession of Buddhism chiefly at the instigation of the empress Jamuni Khátún, which circumstance greatly displeased the upper and learned classes of the Chinese, who adhered to the

state religion, *i.e.* Confucianism, the chief minister of which was always the emperor himself. This being a religion without priests and altars, and the one which least of all addressed itself to the external senses and to the imagination, was naturally antagonistic to Buddhism, which requires numerous temples, countless idols, and supports legions of slothful monks who practise every kind of deceitful superstition—quite repugnant to the true nature of Buddhism, which enjoins the practice of every virtue, preaches morality, and considers the taking of life to be one of the greatest crimes. The most practical argument, however, in favour of Buddhism is that it wrought in course of time a complete change in the character of the eastern Mongols who adopted it, and converted them from ferocious robbers into gentle and peaceable men. When the Buddhist literature of India and Tibet became domesticated in the steppes of Mongolia, the religious books were with astonishing diligence translated into Mongolian from the Sanskrit as well as the Tibetan language; the princes, the nobles, and the clergy took pride in assuming Hindu and Tibetan names, so that at last in the trefail of Jambudvīpa, the chief nations of which are the Hindus and Tibetans, the Mongols became the third nation. Gradually Buddhist sentiments became very strong, and although they vanished with the expulsion of the Mongols from China, they were revived again with great force after the re-introduction of the religion, and coloured not only the manner of thinking, but also of writing; hence it is no wonder that in the 17th century Ssanang Ssetsen composed his work entirely in this spirit, and represents Kubilai as a very zealous Buddhist, whilst on the other hand Ramusio, in his book of Marco Polo, causes him to assist at Christian ceremonies. The views of both these authors are now to be given:—"Kubilai," says Ramusio, "remained at Cambalu—corrupted from Khan-balig, 'Khan's abode,' and meaning the present Pe-king, *i.e.* 'North residence'—till March, in which our Easter occurs; and, learning that this was one of our chief festivals, he summoned all Christians, and bade them bring with them the book of the four gospels. This he caused to be incensed many times with great ceremony, kissing it himself most devoutly, and desiring all the barons and lords who were present to do the same. And he always acts in this fashion at the chief Christian festivals, such as Easter and Christmas. And he does the like at the chief feasts of the Saracens, Jews, and idolaters. On being asked why, he said, 'There are four prophets worshipped and revered by all the world. The Christians say their God is Jesus Christ; the Saracens

Muhammad ; the Jews Moses ; the idolaters Sogomen Borkan [Sakyamuni Buddha], who was the first god among the idols ; and I worship and pay respect to all four, and pray that he among them who is greatest in heaven in very truth may aid me.' But the Great Kaan let it be seen well enough that he held the Christian faith to be the truest and best—for, as he says, it commands nothing that is not perfectly good and holy. But he will not allow the Christians to carry the cross before them, because on it was scourged and put to death a person so great and exalted as Christ.

"Some one may say, 'Since he holds the Christian faith to be best, why does he not attach himself to it, and become a Christian?' Well, this is the reason he gave Messer Nicolo and Messer Maffeo when he sent them as his envoys to the Pope, and when they sometimes took occasion to speak to him about the faith of Christ he said, 'How would you have me to become a Christian? You see that the Christians of these parts are so ignorant that they achieve nothing, and can achieve nothing; whilst you see the idolaters can do anything they please, insomuch that when I sit at table two cups from the middle of the hall come to me full of wine or other liquor without being touched by anybody, and I drink from them. They control storms, causing them to pass in whatever direction they please, and do many other marvels; whilst, as you know, their idols speak, and give them predictions, on whatever subjects they choose. But if I were to turn to the faith of Christ and become a Christian, then my barons and others who are not converted would say, "What has moved you to be baptized, and to take up the faith of Christ? What powers or miracles have you witnessed on his part?" (You know the idolaters here say that their wonders are performed by the sanctity and powers of their idols.) Well, I should not know what answer to make; so they would only be confirmed in their error; and the idolaters, who are adepts in such surprising arts, would easily compass my death. But now you shall go to your Pope and pray him on my part to send hither a hundred men skilled in your law, who shall be capable of rebuking the practices of idolaters to their faces, and of telling them that they too know how to do such things but will not, because they are done by the help of the devil and other evil spirits, and shall so control the idolaters that these shall have no power to perform such things in their presence. When we shall witness this, we will denounce the idolaters and their religion, and then I will receive baptism; and when I shall have been baptized, then all my barons and chiefs shall be bap-

tized also, and their followers shall do the like, and that in the end there will be more Christians here than exist in your part of the land!"

"And if the Pope, as was said in the beginning of this book, had sent men fit to preach our religion, the Grand Kaan would have turned Christian; for it is an undoubted fact that he greatly desired to do so."²²⁷

It is well known that Buddhist Lamas enjoyed much consideration at the courts of various Mongol princes, but Kubilai kept two of them near his person; they were related to each other, and dwelt in a temple built by and for himself. One of these men was Kinah, and the other Pasepa,—the Pag'sapa of Ssanang Ssetsen, as will appear further on,—two of whose teeth were so long that his lips would not meet. Pasepa is said to have become a Lama and to have left Tibet at the early age of fifteen, when he attached himself to Kubilai, who conceived great affection for him, honoured him with the dignity of 'master of the doctrine,' and appointed him chief of all the Lamas of the empire, although he was at the time only twenty-two years old.²²⁸

According to Ssanang Ssetsen, Kubilai Khan received a consecration by which he was made a Buddhist *Kei Vajra*; the expression is no doubt Sanskrit, but unknown to the author of this paper. The ordination of Kubilai, as well as the bestowal of the dignity of supreme Lama by him on *Madi Dhvajava*, is by the just-mentioned Mongol historian²²⁹ described as follows:—"Sakia Pandita,"²³⁰ called *Madi Dhvajava*, born in the sheep-year (1235), had at the age of thirteen years arrived here in the Ting-sheep-year (1247) with his uncle. In the Ga-mouse-year (1264), when Madi Dhvajava was thirty years old, the Khubil-ganian spouse of Khutuktu Kubilai Ssetsen Khagan, named Tehambui Gon, spoke to her husband as follows:—"This Madi Dhvajava is the successor of the Bogda, our supreme Lama. Let us receive from him the consecration of Kei Vajra." To this request of Tehambui Khátún the Khagan replied, 'I have nothing to object against thy words, except that it will not do for me to occupy a meaner seat than this young man. Ask him on the subject. If I sit on the throne, and he, occupying a meaner position, bestows the consecration on me, I shall

²²⁷ Yule's *Ser Marco Polo*, pp. 310 seq.

²²⁸ *Collection Orientale*, جامع التواريخ رشیدی, p. 189.

²²⁹ pp. 115-117 of Schmidt's German translation.

²³⁰ One of the most celebrated and venerated Lamas; the first introducer of Buddhism among the Mongols.—*Ibid.*, p. 307, *Anmerkungen* 34.

accept it ; if he be unwilling, how can I receive the consecration ?' Hereupon the Khátún went to Madi Dhvajava, reported to him the words of the Khagan, and received from him the following reply :— ' To enable a person to enter the portals of the promises of religion by the imparting of the consecration on the one hand, and to insist on distinction of rank on the other, are two unsuitable things. As that meritorious Lama who promotes to divineness is evidently a *Vajradhara*, how can I, in such a case, occupy a meaner seat than the Khagan ?' As the two parties were, after yet another consultation, unable to agree on this point, the mind of Tchambui Khátún became troubled, and she made yet the following proposal :— ' Would it not do that the Lama, when he teaches and imparts the consecration, should occupy a higher seat than the Khagan, but that, on the contrary, when both meet on affairs of the administration of the empire they should take their seats on equal thrones ?' This proposal was by both parties approved of with the words, ' Let it be thus,' and the Khagan added, ' To-morrow we shall with the priest Madi Dhvajava discuss the sense of the Tantras²⁴¹ of the Kei Vajra.'

" When the discussion took place on the next day, Madi Dhvajava was unable to answer the questions of the Khagan, and could not understand one of his words. Hereupon Madi Dhvajava, being much distressed, requested the Khagan to allow him to continue the discussion on the next day, and went away. The cause of this ignorance was that the Sudur of the Tantras of the Kei Vajratu—formerly the property of Sakia Pandita—was now in the hands of the Khagan, and Madi Dhvajava had never seen that book.

" Now when Madi Dhvajava was during the following night for a time unable to sleep from care and uneasiness, and had at last begun to slumber a little, it happened that an old man in the shape of a Brahman, with white hair twisted up above the skull, and holding in his hand a whistle made of a human marrow-bone, appeared before him, approached him and said, ' Man, burden not thy mind with sorrow ; arise and prepare a lamp !' With these words the old man disappeared, but al ly again returned bearing a casket containing a book, and said, ' Lo at this quickly, and impress its contents on thy mind ; for I shall again before daybreak to take it and to carry it back to its place.' With these words the apparition again vanished. Madi Dhvajava

²⁴¹ stic formulas (like the Mantras and Dháranis) occurring in religious

perused the book thrice and imprinted its contents on his memory. At dawn the old man again appeared and said, 'If thou hast finished the reading of the writing, give it to me, that I may put it in its place.' The old man then continued, 'Youth, yesterday thou wast conquered because thou didst miss the Lama exalted above thyself. This day thou bearest the Lama on the top of thy head, and the great Khagan will not be able to resist thee in the impending contest. He will constantly have before his eyes the Lama to whom he gives the honour of adoration, and the Lama with whom he is disputing.' After these words the old man became invisible. This apparition was the glorious *Mahākūla*, the protector of the doctrines of the glorified *Sakia*, the father and the son,²²² who had, by means of the *Riti Khubilghan*,²²³ removed the *Tantras* of the *Kei Vajra* from the head pillow of the Khagan.

"When on the next day *Madi Dhvajava* again began the contest, the Khagan was not able to resist him, and received from him with perfect faith the consecration of the sublime *Kei Vajra*. Thereupon the Khagan bestowed on him the following title:—*Bamssum-tchoigyirgyalbo-blama-apagspa*, and in the Chinese language *Sang-sing-dai-wang-guyushri*, which means, *The king of the doctrine in the three countries, the supreme Lama*."²²⁴

MONGOL WRITING.

Since the time of Chenghiz Khan the Mongols had begun to write in their own language with the Oigur letters which Tatatungo had

²²² Hereby probably Sakia Paudita and his successor Madi Dhvajava or Pagba Lama are meant: *Anmerkungen*, p. 395.

²²³ *Riti Khubilghan* designates a force inherent in higher natures, but especially in Buddhist personages, which is said to manifest itself by all sorts of miracles, unusual phenomena, transformations, &c. Such higher natures, namely, consider all visible objects possessing reality in the eyes of the great mob only as a trick of deception by which these objects appear, pass, and vanish again. As according to Buddhist ideas the whole phenomenal world is a creation of the spirits and of the fate which governs them, and extending from region to region develops itself further, so that no object continues to exist, perpetual change prevails, and every individuality attains a speedy end, they believe that persons who have by deep self-contemplation, and by a complete perception of the vanity of everything existing acquired through it, emancipated themselves from the bonds of *Samsāra* or matter, and have obtained power and dominion over nature, or over the deceitful images of matter manifesting themselves in changes and transformations, and that they may, if need be, make use of them according to pleasure.—*Ibidem*, p. 312.

²²⁴ Our author calls the Lama thus distinguished by Kubilai *Madi Dhvajava*, which means in Sanskrit 'Banner of wisdom or of intellect.' The Tibetan name *Pagpa Lama*, by which alone he has become known and celebrated, was the title of his dignity, and means nothing more than 'most reverend' or 'chief Lama.'

taught them ; but Kubilai said to the Pagspa Lama, " The Hindus and Chinese have their peculiar characters, but our Mongol people have none ; invent therefore an alphabet for our nation." Accordingly the Pagspa Lama prepared the *Dörböljin* or square characters of the Mongols, and established a seminary for intelligent and teachable Mongol youths, in which this writing, resembling the Tibetan, and consisting of more than a thousand syllabic groups, was taught. Then the emperor issued the following edict in 1269 :—" Our dynasty, originally from the north, had hitherto represented the words of our mother-tongue in Chinese and in Oigur characters. Throwing our eyes on the Leao and on the Kin, we perceived that these two dynasties had their own characters for writing ; and we had none peculiar to our language, although it had been gradually perfected. Therefore the imperial teacher, Pagspa, has invented Mongol characters, which we send this day into the countries of our dominion, so that henceforth all acts may be drawn up in our mother-tongue. In consideration of this labour we have conferred on Pagspa the title of *king of the faith* (Kiao-wang)."²⁴⁵

From the narrative of Marco Polo it appears that when Kubilai sent the two brothers Polo as his ambassadors to the Pope he gave them also letters written in Mongolian, which Marco calls the Tartar language :—" Now the contents of the letter were to this purport. He begged the Pope would send as many as a hundred persons of our Christian faith ; intelligent men, acquainted with the seven arts, well qualified to enter into controversy, and able clearly to prove by force of argument to idolaters and other kinds of folk that the law of Christ was best, and that all other religions were false and naught ; and that if they would prove this he and all under him would become Christians and the Church's liegemen. Finally he charged his envoys to bring back to him oil of the lamp which burns on the sepulchre of our Lord at Jerusalem."²⁴⁶

CHRISTIANITY UNDER KUBILAI.

It has already been mentioned that, in spite of his zeal for Buddhism, Kubilai protected also Muhammadans, Christians, and Jews ; but the Tao-sse religion, professed by many of his Chinese subjects, appears to have been an exception, as he issued in 1281 an edict to burn

²⁴⁵ Hyacinthe, *Zapiski o Mongolii* ; D'Ohsson, t. II., p. 303.

²⁴⁶ Yule's *Ser Marco Polo*, p. 12.

its books. The Christians, all of whom were Nestorians, had the bishop of Ta-tu²⁶⁷ for their spiritual head; but the Pope, John XXI., was anxious to see the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church propagated, especially as the arrival of two Georgians in 1277 at his court, who had been sent by Abáká Khan, the son of Hulágu, brought the information that the emperor Kubilai had allowed himself to be baptized and to be instructed in the Christian religion, and that he was very anxious to see the Gospel preached by missionaries to his subjects. This Pope had selected a few monks to go to Mongolia, but, his death intervening, his successor, Nicholas III., despatched five Franciscans to propagate the Christian religion among the Mongols and Chinese, giving them also letters of introduction to Abáká and to his sovereign, Kubilai. The letter addressed to the Grand Khan commenced with a brief description of the life, death, resurrection, and ascension of the Lord Jesus. Then the Pope informed Kubilai of the reason for sending the monks, requested him to receive them kindly, to defray their expenses whilst sojourning in their country, and to get them escorted safely back, so that they might return to Rome with the wished-for success in their labours, and the joy of having been instrumental in the salvation of a great number of souls. Lastly he recommended all the Christians of the Mongol empire to the favour of Kubilai. These monks departed in 1278 from Europe, and their names are Gherardus de Prato, Antonius de Parma, Joannes de St. Agatha, Andreas de Florentia, and Mattheus de Aretio; nothing, however, appears to be known about these or any other missionaries until 1289, when Pope Nicholas IV. deputed some monks of the same order to China under the guidance of the friar Monte Corvino, of whom more will be said further on. This monk was nearly fifty years old when he departed; he laboured for many years in China and was made archbishop of Peking. His connection with the court of Rome, which sent out monks at long intervals, was neither close nor continuous; nevertheless his mission prospered greatly under the patronage of Kubilai, and he established churches at Chin-cheu, Yang-heu, Zaytún, and many other places.

A PERSECUTION OF MOSLEMS.

It had always been the policy to employ officers of different nationalities and religions, such as Mongols, Christians, and Moslems promi-

²⁶⁷ *Ta-tu* means 'great residence,' and is no other than Khan-balig, the present Peking.

cuously, to control one another. Thus it happened that a Musalman named Ahmad rose to the position of Vezier, and acquired so great an authority that nothing could be done except by his direction, although he seemed to act always by order of Kubilai, who was pleased when the colleague of Ahmad, Wang-Chu the Chinese Vezier, compassed his murder, although, on account of the immense influence the deceased had enjoyed in his lifetime, the Grand Khan ordered the Amirs and Noyans to bear his corpse with the greatest ceremony and pomp, as also that Mongols, Moslems, Christians, and Jews should all, according to their respective tenets, pay him the last honours of condolence.²⁴⁸ In spite of these demonstrations the body of Ahmad was shortly afterwards—on the plea that he had appropriated a ruby of great value from the treasury to his own use—disinterred, dragged by a rope through the streets, and crushed to pieces. Nor was this cruel outrage on the body of a dead man sufficient to appease Mongol barbarity and spite; even Ainju Khátún, the wife of Ahmad, was slain, and his two sons flayed alive.²⁴⁹ A contemporary, and a hater of Moslems (whose star of prosperity and imperial favour had set on this occasion, after which a persecution of several years ensued),—Marco Polo,—confirms the just-mentioned statements, and abruptly adds that “these circumstances called the Kaan’s attention to the accursed doctrines of the sect of the Saracens, which excuse every crime, and even murder itself, when committed on such as are not of their religion. And, seeing that this doctrine led the accused Achmath and his sons to act as they did without any sense of guilt, the Kaan was led to entertain the greatest disgust and abomination for it. So he summoned the Saracens and prohibited their doing many things which their religion enjoined. Thus he ordered them to regulate their marriages by the Tartar law, and prohibited their cutting the throats of animals killed for food, ordering them to rip the stomach open in the Tartar way.”²⁵⁰

۲۴۸ حکم کرد تا امراء و نوئیان نعش او را بعظیمة هرچه تمامتر برداشتند و فرمود که فرق مغول و مسلمان و ترسا و یهود هر یک بائین خویش تعزیه او داشتند. Mirkhond, vol. V., p. ۶۴.

۲۴۹ فرمان نافذ شد که امیر احمد را از گوریرون آورده و رسن بر پایش بسته بر سر چهار بازار اعتبار کشیدند و گردونها بروی راندند تا گوشت و استخوان او با خاک یکسان شده و آنچه خاتون را بکشتند و پوست از بدن دو پسر نازنین او باز کردند. *Ibidem.*

²⁵⁰ Yule's *Ser Marco Polo*, p. 374.

This law about the Mongol way of slaughtering animals was, however, abrogated after the persecution, when it was found that commerce began to suffer greatly from the cessation of intercourse with traders from the Muhammadan countries, who had by degrees stopped all commerce between themselves and the Mongols. Besides the general tide of enmity which had, after the outrage on the body and family of Ahmad, turned against the Moslems, the following occurrence also gave, for the time being, occasion to the more strict enforcement of the law about the slaughtering of animals, which was henceforth more rigorously carried out, until the persecution, which lasted seven years, came to an end. After the murder of the Amir Ahmad namely, and during the Vezirate of Sangah the Oigurian, certain merchants had arrived from the Kury and Kyrkyz provinces with white falcons whose feet were white and beaks red, as well as with two white eagles, as presents for the Grand Khan, who, being pleased with them, sent from his own table certain dishes of food to the merchants, which, however, they refused to consume. On being asked for the reason of their abstinence, the traders replied that they could not eat meat killed in a manner contrary to that prescribed by the tenets of their religion, which answer was conveyed to Kubilai in this form :—"According to our opinion the food of the Pádsháh is carrion." Hereupon the Grand Khan became very angry, and issued orders that all animals should be slaughtered according to the Mongol fashion ; some Christians are even said to have succeeded in getting an edict published to the effect that a person killing animals in any other way should himself be killed like a sheep. In this manner a great deal of money was extorted from the professors of Islam, as their own slaves betrayed the Moslems and thus recovered their liberty ; and the persecution attained such a height that during four years Musalmans could not circumcise their children.

Another reason accessory to the enforcement of the law mentioned above was that when Kubilai's nephew, Abáká (the son of Hulágu, who had destroyed the empire of the Khalifs), began to reign, in 1264, after the demise of his father, he, although a Sultán of Moslems, being in all things subject to Kubilai, posts were established from his country to Peking, by which Muhammadans incessantly travelled, either officially or privately, as that city was the capital of an immense empire, and the focus not only of the government, but also of commerce and industry. The postmasters complained that the Muhammadan travellers refused to partake of the food prepared for them, and disdained to eat anything slaughtered by themselves ; whereupon the emperor said,

"They are my slaves, let them live as others do," and they were compelled to obey.

During this persecution Mullá Behá-al-din Bokháry, who had been a disciple of Saif-al-din Bakhrazy, was engaged in preaching, but was expelled the city and exiled under an escort to Maha-Chin, where he fell sick and died. The Moslems were so much distressed that most of them left Peking and emigrated; merchants likewise fell gradually away and ceased to trade; so that the chiefs of the Muhammadan population, such as Sheháb-al-din Kanduzy, O'mar Kyrkyzy, Náçer-al-din Malek Káshgh'ary, and others, got the Chinese Vezier to report to Kubilai that, on account of the prohibition to slaughter cattle, the mercantile classes, on whom the prosperity of the country greatly depended, had emigrated with their goods and chattels, so that great loss had ensued, but that in case the Grand Khan should rescind the obnoxious prohibition the merchants would again return, whereby the customs duties would again become as profitable as in times of yore. The Grand Khan excused himself as being unable to act contrary to his own *Faïf*, because in that case the people would not trust his words; but he sent officers into the country to punish all who had made it their lucrative business to spy out and to report to the authorities cases of the transgression of this law, whereupon the Moslems began to breathe more freely.

Whilst Mullá Behá-al-din was yet in Peking, certain unbelievers, designated in the *Ravdat-ul-çifa* by the general name of *Jehúd*, but no doubt implying both Jews and Christians, had brought to the notice of Abūçā Khan that the Korin verse "Kill the idolaters"²³¹ would justify him in slaying all the Musalmans, but he replied that the emperor would be more wise in such matters, and despatched some envoys with the above verse to Peking. Kubilai Khan beckoned to one of the learned Emlins, who happened to be present when the verse was brought, to call Mullá Behá-al-din to his presence, which having been done, the Khan inquired for the meaning of the verse, and received the answer that it implied the killing of all idolaters. "Then," asked the emperor, "why do you not kill them, and why do you act contrary to the command of God?" The Mullá replied, "The time has not yet arrived and we have no opportunity." The Khan rejoined, "If you have no power, we have," and, ordering him to be slain, was desirous to extirpate all the Musalmans, but the Amir Dáneshmend and some

other Moslems who were in the position of Veziers, interfered and advised His Majesty to take the opinion of all the Emáms and U'lemmas of the religion, which being done, the Khan angrily informed them that he expected the unvarnished simple truth from them, and repeated the question he had put to A'lá-al-din Bokháry, but received the same answer, and again asked why the Moslems did not kill all idolaters if such were the command of God; then A'lá-al-din Túsý replied, "We are expecting the time." When, however, the other Moslems present perceived the anger of the Grand Khan, and foresaw that replies of this kind would bring more persecutions upon them, and perhaps end in great bloodshed, one of them rose and said, "It is indeed true that God commands us to kill idolaters, namely all who do not believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, but, as at the top of all your Majesty's edicts the name of God is written, you cannot be placed in that category." These words appeased the wrath of Kubilai, and he allowed the U'lemmas to depart in peace.

Kubilai appears, with other traits of character in common with Akbar the great emperor of Hindostan, to have, like him, been fond of setting the priests of various religions at discussions with one another, and to have laughed in his sleeve at their perplexities.²⁵³ Nevertheless he was also very fond of astrology, as he maintained nearly five thousand Christian, Muhammadan, and Chinese astrologers, as well as soothsayers, and multitudes of destitute persons; he does not appear to have been able to emancipate himself altogether from the superstitions of his time, and is said to have always been alarmed at the appearance of extraordinary natural phenomena, such as eclipses, comets, and earthquakes, which were considered to portend the wrath of heaven.

WIVES AND CHILDREN OF KUBILAI.

Like every one of his predecessors, this Mongol emperor had many wives and concubines. His most beloved and chief spouse was Jambui

253 فرمودي كه علماء اسلام و احبار يهود و دانشمندان نصاري و دانايان خطاء و ساير ممالك مغولستان مجمتع شوند و در مجلس او بحث و مناظره قيام نمايند و بر استماع لطايف و مسايل عقلي و نقلی و نوع نشرتي تمام داشت و در زمان دولت خویش فرمود تا قران مجيد و توره و انجيل و كتاب شاهنويرا بزبان مغولي ترجمه کنند
Mirkhond, vol. V., p. ۶۵.

Khátún, a daughter of Noyan Ilchi, the prince of the Mongol tribe of Kunkurats. By her Kubilai begat four sons, namely Jorji, Chingkin, Manggola, and Numaggan, but he had eight more sons by other wives, four of whom bore the rank of empress, each of them being allowed to entertain in her service three hundred young girls and crowds of pages as well as eunuchs, so that the households of these four princesses were computed to number ten thousand persons. It was first the intention of Kubilai to leave the throne to his fourth son, Numaggan, but during the captivity of this prince, who was made prisoner in the war with Kaidu, he designated his second son, Chingkin, to succeed him. A short time afterwards, when Numaggan was released and returned to China, he vented his discontent by utterances which drew on him the wrath of his father; accordingly Kubilai drove him from his presence and forbade him to reappear before his eyes; this prince shortly afterwards expired in disgrace; Chingkin, also the heir presumptive, preceded his father to the grave in January 1286. Eight years after the demise of Chingkin, one of the chief ministers of Kubilai, General Bayan, observed to him, at the instigation of Gökjin, the widow of Chingkin, that, although of a very advanced age, he had not designated a successor. Hereupon Kubilai nominated Temúr—the son of Chingkin, on whom he had just conferred the government of Karakorum—prince imperial, and ordered Bayan to proceed to Tartary to announce to him his elevation, and to instal him with the usual ceremonies and festivities.

TEMUR.

After the demise of Kubilai a diet was convoked at Shang-tu, where Temúr was elected Grand Khan in 1294, at the age of thirty years; and the next year his generalissimo, Bayan, died. The only remarkable events in the reign of this emperor are two wars which he was compelled to wage—the one in order to reduce to obedience the nations which had revolted against his government in the portion of India adjoining China, and the other against the ancient rivals of Kubilai, Kaidu, and Dona. The former, who had assumed the title of Khan, died of some malady during his retreat in 1301, regretted by his subjects for his humanity, and by his troops for his bravery; the latter died in 1306,—his son and successor, Gunjak, who survived him only a year, having become a Musalman, and made, even during that brief period, efforts to convert the Mongols.

The chief Lama during the reign of Temúr, and appointed by him,

according to the words of Ssanang Ssetsen, "to be an object of veneration," was Sakia Manjughoshaya Radnaketu. According to Rashid-al-din,²⁵³ two Lamas from Tibet enjoyed absolute authority in the states of the Khan. They had placed near the person of Temúr some of their confidential men, who had orders to hinder him from drinking or eating to excess; and, if they obtained no other chance to attract his attention, they rattled two staves which they carried, so as to make a noise, whereupon Temúr left the table at once. The great influence which the Lama Pasepa had acquired over Temúr will appear from the following narrative:—Some merchants had brought a quantity of precious stones and jewels to sell them to the Khan. The Veziers, the Amirs, and the courtiers, being assembled, estimated these articles to be worth sixty tománs of balishes. When the merchants had received this sum, they distributed about fifteen tománs among the Amirs. On that occasion an Amir, named Mokbil Monkhan, happened to be at the court; he had some time before been degraded in consequence of an accusation by his colleagues, and appointed to an inferior post. Two brokers, whom their rivals had prevented from pursuing their trade, informed this Amir that the jewels sold to the Khan were not worth more than thirty tománs. Mokbil reported their conversation to the Grand Khan, who immediately ordered a second valuation of the jewels to be made. For this purpose Sheháb-al-din, the former governor of the town of Jingsai, was called, who estimated the jewels at thirty tománs. Temúr had the merchants and the brokers arrested, who confessed that they had given a certain sum to each of the Amirs; whereupon the Veziers and Amirs, twelve in number, were likewise imprisoned. They were shut up in a hall of the edifice where the council was being held, and Temúr ordered the whole of them to be executed. Their wives, friends, and children petitioned the princess Gökjin in order to induce her to obtain pardon for the Amirs; she consented, but her request was unavailing. Then they had recourse to the Lama Pasepa. As luck would have it, a comet happened to be visible on that day, and the Lama sent a message to the emperor to come and assist at the ceremonies usual on such an occasion. As soon as Temúr had arrived, Pasepa told him that he must give grace to forty prisoners, and then added that it would be necessary to liberate one hundred more. In this manner the Amirs recovered their liberty. The Lama

²⁵³ MS. fol. 264, quoted from his *جامع التواريخ* in the *Collection Orientale*, pp. 191 seq.

It has just been seen how Temúr not only favoured Buddhist priests, like his predecessor Kubilai, but was in some measure governed by them; and, like Kubilai, he also disliked the Tao-sse religion, which fostered sloth and supported countless holy vagabonds, as will appear from the following:—"In the year 1297 the empress-mother desired to visit the temple she had built in honour of Fo (Buddha) on Mount Utai, in the province of Shan-si; she abandoned, however, her intention at the remonstrance of the high courtiers, who had represented to her that the expenses of this journey would be onerous to the people. During this year the ministers also proposed to the emperor to withdraw from the Tao-sse priests and the Lamas the immunities which had been granted to them. They paid no taxes and contributed nothing to the public charges, so that many rich persons had assumed the garb of these monks in order to enjoy their privileges. Temúr being struck by the representations of his ministers allowed them to regulate the affairs concerning the Tao-sse priests and Lamas. A census of bonzes was taken, and their number was found to be excessive, especially that of the Lamas. In the province of Kiang-nan alone five hundred thousand were suppressed."⁵⁴

MISSION OF JOHN DE MONTE CORVINO.

de la Chine, t. IX., p. 468 ; Coll. Orientale,

In the annals of the Minorite friars by L. Wadding,²⁵⁵ as well as in Assemani,²⁵⁶ two letters describing the operations of this missionary are given ; and they are the more worthy of insertion in this place as the author of this paper was able to confront D'Ohsson, who gives them, with the *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, in such a manner as to make the letters complete, by causing the two last-mentioned sources to supplement each other, whenever an omission occurs in one of them which does not exist in the other. The first letter, dated Cambalieh (Peking) the 8th January 1305, was, as appears from a passage in the second, addressed to the Vicar of the Minorite Friars of the province of Gazaria, that is to say, the Crimea, and is as follows :—

“ I, Friar John de Monte Corvino, of the order of Minorite Friars, left the city of Tauriz of Persia in 1291, went to India, and attended for thirteen months the church of the apostle St. Thomas, and baptized about one hundred persons in various places ; the companion of my journey was Friar Nicholas de Ristorio, of the order of Preacher Friars, who died there, and was buried in the same church.²⁵⁷ On arriving in Khatai, the dominion of the emperor of the Tatars, called the Grand Khan, I handed to that sovereign the letter of the Pope, and invited him to embrace the Catholic faith of our Lord Jesus Christ ; idolatry was, however, too inveterate with him, but he at all events overwhelms Christians with benefits. I am now at his court more than two years. Certain Nestorians, who pretend to be Christians but go far astray from the Christian religion, have so much authority in this country that they will not allow a Christian of another rite to have a small oratory, or to preach any other doctrine but that of the Nestorians. Never has an apostle, or a disciple of one, penetrated into these countries ; wherefore the Nestorians have, either directly or through individuals corrupted by them with money, made me suffer the most cruel persecutions, asserting that I had not been sent by our lord the Pope, but that I am a spy and a deceiver (*dementator hominum*) ; then they produced false witnesses who maintained that I had in India killed a foreign ambassador charged to convey to the emperor a great treasure, of which I had taken possession. These machinations lasted nearly five years, during which I was often handed over to the magistrates and threatened with an ignominious death. By the grace of God, however, by

²⁵⁵ Tomo VI., p. 69 ; D'Ohsson, pp. 600 *seq.*

²⁵⁶ *Bibl. Or.*, t. III., pt. II., p. dxxviii.

²⁵⁷ This preamble is taken from Assemani, *loco laudato*.

the confession of an individual, my innocence became known to the emperor, and also the malice of my foes, who were exiled with their wives and their children. I remained here alone during eleven years, at the end of which I was, two years ago, joined by Friar Arnold, a German of the province of Cologne. I have built a church in the city of Cambalieh, which is the chief residence of the king. This church was finished six years ago; it has a steeple, in which I have caused three bells to be placed. Up to this time I have, I think, baptized in this church nearly six thousand persons, and without the defamations I spoke of I would have baptized more than thirty thousand, and I am often engaged in baptizing. I have gradually purchased one hundred and fifty boys, the sons of pagans, from seven to eleven years old, who had as yet no religion, and I have baptized them; I have taught them the Latin and the Greek letters; I have written psalters for their use, as well as thirty hymnaries, and two breviaries, so that eleven of these boys already know our office, and chant in choir as is done in our convents, whether I am present or not; several of them are transcribing psalters and other books. I get the bells rung at any time. I celebrate the divine office before these children assemble, and we chant by routine, as we have no service book with notes.

“A certain king of that region, George, of the sect of Nestorian Christians, who was of the race of the illustrious and great king called Presbyter John of India, adhered to me the first year when I arrived, and, having by me been converted to the verity of the true Catholic faith, has taken the minor orders, and has ministered to me while I was celebrating, he being dressed in the royal garb. Other Nestorians, however, accused him of apostasy, but he nevertheless led a great part of his nation over to the true Catholic faith, and erected a beautiful church, according to his royal magnificence, to honour our God, the Holy Trinity, and our lord the Pope, calling it the Roman Church. This king George departed six years ago [*i.e.* in 1299] to God, as a true Christian, leaving a little son, almost in his cradle, who is at present nine years old. But the brothers of that same king George, as they were too faithful to the Nestorian errors, have perverted all whom he had converted, and led them back to their old schisms after the demise of the king. And, as I was alone, and unable to leave the emperor Khan, I could not go to that church, which is twenty days distant; but, if some good coadjutors and helpers come, I hope to God that everything can be reformed, because I yet have the [document of] privilege of the defunct king George. I repeat again that but for the

above-mentioned defamations great fruit would have ensued.²⁵⁸ If I could have been assisted by two or three companions, the emperor Khan would perhaps have got himself baptized. [It is already twelve years that I have received no news whatever from the court of Rome, nor from our Order, and I do not know the state of affairs in the West.²⁵⁹ I supplicate the Minister-General of our Order to send me an Antiphonarium, a Legend of the Saints, a Gradual, and a Psalter with notes for a model; because I have only a pocket Breviary with short lessons, and a small Missal. If I had a copy of it the children might transcribe it. I am building a second church in order to divide the boys.] I have learnt the Tatar language and writing, and have already translated into that language the whole New Testament and the Psalter, which I got written in very beautiful Tatar characters. Lastly, I write, I read, and I preach the word of God."

In another letter, written towards the end of 1305 to the Minorite and Preacher Friars in Persia, John de Monte Corvino says that he is building a second church opposite to the palace of the Khan, and only a stone's throw from its gate; and that the plot of ground had been purchased by a merchant named Petrus de Lucalongo, who had accompanied John from Tauriz, and which he had presented to him for the love of God. The distance between this church and the first one in the city amounted to two miles and a half. "When we sing," writes John, "the lord Khan may hear us in his apartments. I get admission to the palace, and have a fixed position at court as legate of the Pope. The emperor honours me more than the other prelates, whoever they may be." Both these letters were written during the reign of Temür, who occupied the throne from 1294 till 1307.

At the demand of this missionary, Pope Clement V. sent in the year 1307 seven Franciscans to China, nominating at the same time John de Monte Corvino Archbishop of Khanbalik (Peking) and

²⁵⁸ This paragraph is likewise taken from Assemani as far as the stop indicated by this note; but the passage within brackets, where the missionary complains that he had for twelve years been without any news from Rome, being omitted, is supplied from D'Ohsson.

²⁵⁹ Here Colonel Yule, who inserts this letter in his *Cathay*, pp. 197-202, has on p. 201 the following passage, wanting in the above-mentioned sources:—"Two years ago, indeed, there came here a certain Lombard leech and chirurgion, who spread abroad in these parts the most incredible blasphemies about the court of Rome and our Order, and the state of things in the West, and on this account I exceedingly desire to obtain true intelligence. I pray the brethren whom this letter may reach to do their possible to bring its contents to the knowledge of our lord the Pope and the Cardinals, and the agents of the Order at the court of Rome."

Primate of the East. The seven monks were to be the suffragans of John and created bishops; three of them, however, arrived only the next year in Ta-tu (Peking), with a letter from the Pope to Temúr, in which he was invited to embrace the Christian religion and to protect John de Monte Corvino. These three bishops, Gerard, Peregrine, and Andrew de Perusio, consecrated John de Monte Corvino Archbishop of Cambalu. In 1312 the Pope sent him as suffragans three other Franciscans—Thomas, Jerome, and Peter of Florence. The three first named successively presided over the Catholic community in the town of Zaitun,²⁶⁰ Gerard obtaining the church built by a rich Armenian lady. John de Monte Corvino appointed Bishop Gerard to take charge of this new diocese, which passed after his demise to Peregrine, who was in 1322 succeeded by Andrew de Perusio. It appears from a letter of Bishop Andrew to the Superior of the convent of Perusio, dated Zaitun the 20th January 1326, that the missionaries sent by the Pope were fed and clothed at the expense of the Mongol emperor. Andrew states that he and his companions received victuals and clothing for eight persons; during the five years they dwelt at Peking, and when Andrew transferred his residence to Zaitun, the same subsidy, which he calls *Alafu*²⁶¹ and explains as 'royal alms,' was continued. This bishop also adds, "Certainly, in this empire there are people from all nations which exist under heaven, as well as of all religions, every one being allowed to follow his own; because among them [the Mongols] the opinion, or rather error, prevails that one can be saved in all."

KAISHUN.

Temúr left no posterity, but his widow Bulugan, being very influential, desired to put on the throne Ananda, the son of Mangcala, and to prevent Kaishun, the son of Chengkin, and commander of an army of observation on the north-west frontier, from taking possession of it. Kaishun was, however, proclaimed Grand Khan by his army as soon as the death of Temúr became known, but, being too much ad-

²⁶⁰ Zaitun is only a corruption of *Tsai-thung*—the old name of *Thsiuan-tcheu-fu*—the town having been enclosed by a hedge of thorns or *Tsai*, and by *Thung*-trees (*Bignonia tomentosa*). See Klaproth, *Mém. relat. à l'Asie*, t. II., p. 210.

²⁶¹ This word shows that the Mongols of the east were then already using Arabic expressions current in the west; *Alufu* is still used to designate maintenance, e. g. *داريم مي محسوب وعلو وعلو* "We have a fixed sum for the food and maintenance of the elephants."

dicted to wine and women, he died in February 1311, aged thirty-one years.

Kaishun manifested during his brief reign great affection for the Lamas, and supported their pretensions with revolting partiality. When a mandarin of the town of Shang-tu was on a certain occasion about to punish a Lama who had ill-treated a man of the people, the Lama, escorted by several others armed with sticks, entered the tribunal, insulted the mandarin, and imprisoned him in a room. Complaints being made to the court, the Lama was put in prison, but soon liberated. About the same time another Lama happened to meet the princess Hopala, audaciously disputed her precedence, and pressed her chair so closely as to overturn it; he carried his insolence so far as to strike the princess. The emperor being informed of this act had the weakness to leave it unpunished; he moreover issued an order that any one beating a Lama would have his thumb, and any one insulting him by speech his tongue, cut off; the heir apparent, however, succeeded in getting this edict revoked. Soon afterwards Kaishun declared at a representation made to him by his ministers that Lamas and Tao-ssé priests would be subject to taxes and duties just like other people.

According to Ssanang Ssetsen,²⁰² the third period of Mongolian literature falls into the reign of this sovereign, when to the Lama of the Sakias, Tchoigyi Odser by name, the command of Kaishun was issued, "Translate the writings which contain the words of Buddha into the Mongolian language." The Mongolian square character being, however, found insufficient to express all the sounds, the above Tchoigyi Odser implored Manjushri (a Buddha), and augmented the letters arranged by Sakia Pandita; for all that, however, Tchoigyi Odser was, in the last poems of the *Pancharaksha* which he had translated, not able to render all the foreign expressions in Mongolian letters,—as the peculiar Tibetan and Sanskrit sounds had no equivalent characters,—wherefore in that work many words have yet remained in the Oigur (Tibetan) language.

BOYANTU.

After the demise of Kaishun, his brother Ayur-bali-batra was proclaimed Grand Khan under the name of Boyantu Khakán. He died in February 1320, aged thirty and some years. During the brief reign of this Khan the governor of the province of Shen-si informed

²⁰² p. 398.

the court that, under the pretence of honouring Fo (*i.e.* Buddha), the Lamas were in the habit of liberating criminals and of committing thousands of disorders. The emperor gave orders to labour incessantly for the abolition of these abuses.

SHUDI-BALA.

This Khan, the son and successor of the preceding one, was slain in his bed in 1323, aged twenty-one years. During his reign the Roman Catholic missionary Odoric arrived from Europe, as will be seen below. In 1321 a Lama named Yuen-ming, who was desirous to excite a revolt in the district of Sin-gan-fu, and had a considerable following, suffered the penalty of death. At the end of the same year the emperor bestowed magnificent gifts on the Lama who had been his teacher and was returning to Tibet. Not content with this munificence, he spent large sums in the construction of a temple which he dedicated to Fo in the mountains to the west of Peking.

THE FRANCISCAN FRIAR ODORIC OF UDINE.

This friar spent three years, between 1322 and 1328, in northern China; he boasts of the liberality of the Mongol court, from which clothing was sent to his monastery which might have sufficed for a thousand monks; he swears that the difference between the lord (Khan) and the great men of Italy is like that of an extremely wealthy and a wretchedly poor man²⁶³; but the most curious point of the friar's report is that the Minorites actually usurped the functions of the *Kāms* in the exorcisation of evil spirits. He says, "In those regions God Almighty hath bestowed such grace upon the Minor Friars that in Great Tartary they think it a mere nothing to expel devils from the possessed,—no more indeed than to drive a dog out of a house. For there be many in those parts possessed of the devil, both men and women, and these they bind and bring to our friars from as far as a ten days' journey off. The friars bid the demons depart forth instantly from the bodies of the possessed in the name of Jesus Christ, and they do depart immediately in obedience to his command. Then those who have been delivered from the demon straightway come themselves to

²⁶³ The following are the friar's own words :—"Ed io vi stetti tre anni in compagnia di frati minori, che vi hanno il monastero, dove dalla corte vi veniva tanta robba che sarebbe stata bastanto per mille frati. E per lo Dio vero, è tanta differenza da questo signore a questi d'Italia, come da un humo richissimo ad un che sia il piu povero del mondo."

be baptized ; and the friars take their idols, which are made of felt, and carry them to the fire, whilst all the people of the country round assemble to see their neighbours' gods burnt. The friars accordingly cast the idols into the fire, but they leap out again. And so the friars take holy water and sprinkle it upon the fire, and that straightway drives away the demon from the fire ; and so the friars again casting the idols into the fire they are consumed. And then the devil in the air raises a shout saying, ' See then, see then, how I am expelled from my dwelling-place !' And in this way our friars baptize great numbers in that country."²⁶⁴

YISSUN TEMUR.

This prince, although of a weak mind, was nevertheless proclaimed Grand Khan in his camp on the Kerulan river after the murder of Shudi-bala. In the year 1326 a mandarin presented to the emperor Yissun Temúr a vehement memoir in which he denounced the Lamas as vexing the people in various ways. He represented that these men were roaming through the country with large retinues and the equipages of princes, carrying with them written orders to take posthorses ; that they established themselves in particular houses, and imperiously exacted the provisions and money they needed ; lastly, that their morals were extremely loose. The emperor delayed his reply in order to obtain accurate information on the facts alleged in the memoir. Having soon ascertained that all these disorders were but too true, he published an edict to prohibit Lamas from entering China.²⁶⁵

TÖB TEMUR

This emperor, who ascended the throne in 1329, manifested on all occasions great attachment to the doctrines of Fo, and disbursed immense sums for the rebuilding of temples. He had with him a famous western Lama, called Nientchikitas, whom he declared to be his master, and ordered all the nobles of the empire to meet him, to pay him homage, and to bend the knees every time they spoke to him. At the court there were also several Lamas from the Oigur country. When Tob Temúr died, in 1332, his prime minister, Yang Temúr, proposed to the empress Putasheli to inaugurate his son, but she desired to put Rinchenpal, the second son of Kushala, aged seven years, whom the deceased emperor himself had designated as his heir, on the throne ;

²⁶⁴ Yulo's *Cathay*, pp. 155 seq.

²⁶⁵ *Collection Orientale*, p. 193, جامع التواريخ

accordingly she had this boy proclaimed as the heir apparent, and became herself the regent ; but Rinchenpal, whose constitution was very delicate, died in the month of December during the same year.

The empress Putasheli had, at the commencement of Tob Temur's reign, caused the empress Papusha, widow of Kushala, to be slain, and had her son Togan Temúr transported to an island in Corea, where no one was allowed to approach his person. This young prince was now to be inaugurated Grand Khan, but Yang Temúr, the prime minister, dissatisfied with the cold manner in which he had been received by him and his suite, delayed the ceremony. Togan Temúr became aware of the mistake he had committed, and made it good by marrying Peyau, the daughter of Yang Temúr ; the minister happened, however, to die on that occasion (February 1233). The death of this prime minister, who had been all-powerful in the empire from the beginning of Tob Temúr's reign,—he had not hesitated to marry an empress, the widow of Yissun Temúr, nor to carry off successively as many as forty princesses of the blood to make them his concubines,—being hastened on by his incontinence, ensured the throne to Togan Temúr, who was proclaimed emperor after the empress had gone with the court to Shang-tu, where she made known the last will of Tob Temúr, that his only son, Yang-Te-Kuss, should succeed after Togan Temúr, which event, however, could not take place, as the Mongols were soon expelled from China.²⁰⁶

TOGAN TEMUR.

This new emperor was effeminate. He had, at the instigation of his prime minister Hama, imported several young Lamas from Tibet, who captivated his mind, and seduced it by the attractions of the most licentious pleasures. Intending to begin the education of his son, he entrusted it to several Lamas, who were to teach him the religion of Fo, and make him read the book containing his doctrines ; he was, however, too weak-minded and had not the courage to defend those whom he had protected so openly, so that Polo Temúr, who had usurped all authority, expelled the Lamas from the palace, and prohibited them from promulgating their religion.

The rapid successions of the emperors, the revolutions of the palace, civil war, and the weakness of the government, all combined to inspire the Chinese with the hope of deliverance from the Mongol

²⁰⁶ D'Ohsson, t. II., p. 554.

yoke. In 1337 revolutions broke out simultaneously in the provinces of Ho-nan, Se-chuan, and Koung-fong, and, although they were at once suppressed, the court gave way to great distrust towards the Chinese mandarins, so that the natives of that country were henceforth prohibited from possessing arms or horses, and using the Mongol language.

After the death of the archbishop John de Monte Corvino, in 1333, the Pope, John XXII., appointed as his successor the Franciscan monk Nicholas, who departed to China with twenty-six friars of the same order. Lastly, it may be seen from the letters of the Roman chancery that Pope Urban V. appointed in 1370 the Franciscan William de Pratt, a Parisian doctor of theology, to be Archbishop of Cambalik (Peking), and he departed with twelve friars of the same order, provided by the Pope with letters to the emperor of China, and the Tatar sovereigns of the countries the missionaries were to pass through.²⁶⁷

It need scarcely be repeated in this place that the missionaries furnished the Pope with reports on the progress of Christianity, and the readiness of the Mongol princes to embrace it, which were not faithful; the friars were always anxious to send news pleasing to the court of Rome, and to place great stress on the fruits of their zeal in the propagation of the faith. Moreover the adventurers who arrived from the East often pretended to be envoys from the Mongol emperors. The case of David, who thus imposed on Louis IX., has already been narrated. A certain Andrew came in 1338 with fifteen other men, who appear to have been Alains, to Avignon, and, pretending to be an envoy of the emperor Shun-tu, presented from that sovereign to the Pope a letter dated in the year of the rat (1336), and another addressed to his Holiness by the Alains in the service of the same emperor. The Grand Khan wrote to the Pope that he had sent Andrew with his companions in order to open a way for frequent embassies on both sides; to request the Pope to send him his blessing, and always to remember him in his prayers; to recommend to him the Alains the bearers of this letter, who were the servants of the emperor, and the Christian sons of the Pope; and lastly that these same Alains might bring to the emperor horses and curiosities from the West.

Another letter of the same date as the preceding one is written in the name of five Alains, who inform the Pope that they have been instructed in the Catholic faith by his legate, the friar John, who had died eight years before; they supplicate him graciously to reply to the letter

²⁶⁷ D'Ohsson, t. II., p. 554, and Mesheim, *Historia Tartar.*, p. 114.

of the emperor, so that, according to his wish, friendly relations may be established between the two courts, whence great advantage for the salvation of souls and the exaltation of the faith will result; lastly they request him, as his sons and brothers, to recommend them to the emperor their master, whereby he might do a great deal of good to them.

The Pope does not seem to have doubted the authenticity of the imperial letter, as he addressed to the emperor of the Tatars a reply, dated Avignon the 13th June 1338. He expresses his satisfaction at the great attachment entertained by the emperor for the holy Roman Church, and for him who, although unworthy, occupies the place of God on earth,—having learnt these matters from the envoys through his interpreters, as well as from the contents of the imperial letters they had brought. He asked him to continue to treat favourably the five Alain princes, whom he names, as well as the other Christians; to allow Catholic priests and monks, and Christians in general, to build and to possess churches, cathedrals, and oratories, in order to celebrate the divine office in them, and to preach the word of God freely in his empire. Lastly he informs him that he will send nuncios to China, and requests him to receive them well, to listen to them patiently and kindly, so that the seed of life which they are to sow in his heart may produce abundant fruit.

The Pope wrote at the same time to Fodein Jovens, the chief of the five Alains, in order to recommend him to work with the other princes his countrymen to obtain that Christians may establish churches, and that their spiritual directors may be free to preach the word of God. In a third letter, addressed to the five Alain princes collectively, they are instructed in the principal dogmas of the Christian faith. During the same year the Pope actually despatched four Franciscans, provided with several letters of recommendation dated the 31st October 1338. One was addressed to the Uzbek Khan; another for the sovereign, addressed as emperor of emperors over all the Tatar nations; and a third to the magnificent prince Shun-ti, emperor of the Tatars and of the Middle Kingdom.²⁶³

It is also to be mentioned that the power of the Moslems was rapidly on the increase not only in the western but also in the eastern portions of the empire, and that they persecuted Christians when opportu-

²⁶³ D'Ohsson, t. II., p. 610, and *Mosheimii Hist. Tartar. Eccles.*, in *appendice*, Nos. 74 to 84.

nity offered. Thus in 1342 the Muhammadans of Almalik excited a violent persecution against the Christians, but especially against the Franciscan monks, who were exposed to all kinds of outrages and severities.

EXPULSION OF THE MONGOLS FROM CHINA.

The Chinese provinces of the Mongol empire were in a state of chronic rebellion from 1341 till 1356, when the individual appeared on the scene who was one day to expel the Mongols from China and to found a powerful dynasty. Tchau-yuan-chang abandoned the garb of a bonze or Chinese priest to enrol himself as a common soldier under the banners of Ko-tse-hing, the rebel chief in Kiang-nan, but soon distinguished himself by rising, and at last obtaining supreme power. He waged war with an army of 250,000 men, and finally expelled the Mongols from China. He proclaimed himself in Nanking—which means ‘southern residence’—on the first day of the Chinese year, which happened to fall in February 1368, and called his dynasty *Ming*, i.e. ‘splendour.’ In August of the same year Tchau marched at the head of an army from Nanking, crossed the Yellow River at Ping-lieu, and reached the capital, at the gates of which the foe was expelled. At this critical moment one of the ministers, Sheliemen, took from the ancestral temple the tablets of the Mongol emperors, and departed with the heir presumptive to the north. Togan Temúr determined to follow him closely, appointed Temúr-boka his lieutenant-general in China, confided to King-long the care of defending the imperial city, and having announced to the princes, princesses, and nobles, whom he had assembled, his resolution to proceed to Tartary, he departed during the same night with the members of his family. The Chinese soon appeared before Ta-tu (Peking), which they entered and occupied after a skirmish near the gates. Then nearly the whole of China was already in the power of Tchau, who now reduced the place, still held by the Mongols, and even conceived the intention of pursuing the fugitives, which he was, however, unable to execute, and was obliged to remain contented with having brought about the cessation of Mongol power in China, although his troops invaded even Tartary.

Thus it may be seen how sometimes Divine Providence uses—for its own inscrutable purposes—insignificant means to bring about immense changes, men of the lowest orders to overthrow powerful dynasties. Tchau was a peasant whom hunger had compelled to become a priest, and distress again, caused by a famine, turned him into a soldier. He

became a general in a comparatively short time, but it was twenty years before he was proclaimed emperor. The rest of the Mongol empire was soon dismembered ; Tamerlane seized the western portion of it, whilst the Ming dynasty existed during more than two centuries and a half, *i.e.* from 1368 to 1644, when the empire passed to the Mantchus, who still hold it.

The Mongols had been in the habit of boasting that they had only in the sack of cities, within the space of half a century of conquest, slain more than seventeen millions of men. If hereto the numbers of the Mongols themselves and of their foes be added who fell in combats, the destruction of life will prove still more enormous. The empire founded on conquest and tyranny, cemented with gore and tears, was destroyed by the same means which brought it into existence, namely blood and iron.

THE WESTERN OR PERSIAN MONGOL KHANS.

HULAGU.

It has already been observed above that the Grand Khan Mangu had sent Hulagu to the west, where he governed Persia, Mesopotamia, and Syria from 1256 till 1265 with his wife Dukuz Khátún, who was no doubt a Christian ; but the statement of Assemani, on the authority of Hayton²⁶⁹ and of some other authors, that Hulagu was one likewise, must be taken for what it is worth, although it is not improbable that he, like some other Mongol princes, had, by being present at, and even participating in various ceremonies of the Church, to a certain degree sanctioned a conjecture which was by ecclesiastical authors converted into a certainty.

In 1258 Hulagu sacked Bagh'dád and put an end to the Khalifate of the Abbassides by slaying the last Khalif, Mostáçem, of whose murder various accounts are given, but the most probable is that in order to avoid shedding the blood of the Khalif, which would, according to Hisam-al-din the astrologer, have brought on total darkness in the world with the harbingers of the resurrection, his body was enveloped in a felt blanket and violently shaken till he expired. The same clemency—if such it may be called—was, however, withheld from the courtiers and nobles of the Khalif, who were put to the sword ; and therefore many of them dressed in rags, whereby they eluded the attempts of the Mongols to exterminate them.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.* *Or.*, t. III., p. II., p. cix.

In those times everything was believed to be regulated by the stars and to depend upon their position. For this reason astrology was held in great esteem by Kubilai, as has already been narrated; and Hulagu likewise built a celebrated astronomical observatory at Muragh'ah on a hill near Tabriz, where he appointed Khajah Naçir-al-din Tûsy with other astronomers to observe the stars, with all the appliances available in the 13th century, and the observatory was well provided with high gnomons, large circles, quadrants, and other instruments. Hulagu was not only fond of astrology, but also of alchemy, on the practice of which he spent immense sums; it is well known that these pursuits contributed in an indirect way to the advancement of true astronomy and chemistry, as well as of other sciences, and not a little to the patronage of scholars, many of whom were salaried by Hulagu. This sovereign yielded also to the noble passion of building, which gave employment to thousands, and resulted in the construction of noble edifices erected by skilled architects. It is curious to observe that Moslem authors—who are generally as fond of representing Mongol sovereigns stoutly professing Islam as Christian writers of making them proselytes to their own religion—mention the construction of Buddhist temples by Hulagu, especially in Aderbaijân.²⁷⁰ Buddhism is a tolerant religion, and if Hulagu really lived up to its tenets towards the end of his career, the statements of Christian authors, that he issued orders after the taking of Bagh'dád concerning the leniency to be shown to Christians, and their being entrusted with the custody of cities and camps, are fully deserving of credit. Hulagu died in 1265, and was during the same year followed to the grave by his spouse Dukuz Khátún.

ABAKA.

He succeeded his father Hulagu in 1265, and his envoy to Pope Clement IV. assured him that Abáká worshipped Christ, and venerated the banner and the cross. Abulfaraj²⁷¹ states that towards the end of his reign (in 1282) Abáká went from Bagh'dád to Hamdán, where he spent the Easter holidays, and entering the church

²⁷⁰ ایلخان بعمارة میلی تمام داشت و در آلاطاق قصری رفیع ساخت
و در حوالی از آن و آذربایجان بتخانهای بزرگ بنیاد نهاد

—Mirkhond, vol. V., p. 81.

²⁷¹ Ed. and transl. of Pococke, p. 361.

celebrated the festival with the Christians. Hayton, however,²⁷² although he believes Abáká to have been a good sovereign, and fortunate in all his undertakings, states that he worshipped idols, and placed faith in their priests. DuCange asserts that his wife Maria Palæologina, second daughter of the Byzantine emperor Michael, was to have been married by his father Hulagu, who having meanwhile died, he himself espoused her. Not only Abáká, but also his brother Mangu Temúr, died in 1292, and Denha the Catholicus of the Nestorians expired one year before them.

After the demise of Machichas, Dukuz Khátún, the wife of Hulagu, had appointed Denha to be Catholicus, but he was consecrated only after she had died, in 1265, and Abáká installed him in the Duidar edifices near the Tigris, where Hulagu had allowed Machichas to reside, but when a tumult arose in 1268 at Bagh'dád he was compelled to emigrate to Arbela, where he built a church. The tumult just mentioned arose in consequence of Denha's order by which a certain native of Takrit who had abjured Christianity was drowned in the Tigris. Hereupon the people became excited and complained to A'lá-al-din, the president of the council, who demanded from the Catholicus the extradition of the man who had committed the deed, but as the prelate refused to comply, the exasperated mob besieged his residence, set fire to the gate of it, and some persons climbing over the wall would have killed him, had not the men of A'lá-al-din secretly conveyed him to the house of the latter. Then the Catholicus went to Ardván, where he preferred his complaint against the people of Bagh'dád, but not being listened to he departed to Arbela. The fact that a Christian prelate could drown a man fanatically, and be bold enough to complain after an attempt at reprisals was made, shows plainly that Christians must have enjoyed considerable liberty during this period.

In the year 1279 the same Denha ordained Simeon Bar-Kalig, who was bishop of the city of Tús, in Khorásán, to be metropolitan in China; as he had, however, before his departure to that country, commenced to behave proudly towards the Catholicus, he was by order of the latter incarcerated, and perished a few days afterwards, together with the bishops and monks who were with him. In lieu of Simeon, the Oigür Yaballala—a Turk by nation but born in China, called by A'mru the metropolitan of Tangut—was consecrated patriarch of China

²⁷² Aytonus. *Ass. Bibl. Oc.*, t. III., pt. II., p. cx.

in 1281, which took place, according to the Syriac chronicle of Abulfaraj,²⁷³ as follows :—Whilst this Catholicus, Mar Denha, was living, two Oigur monks, who were going on pilgrimage to the sacred localities of Jerusalem, happened to arrive from China. As they had no correct idea about the route, or the places they were going to, they called on Mar Denha, who, being apprehensive that Bar-Kalig might still go to China, ordained one of these Oigur [*i.e.* Turkish] monks to be the metropolitan of China, and called him Yaballaha. Whilst these men were about to return to their country, Denha expired; then the Amirus Asutus [اميرا سود], their relative reported the case of Yaballaha to the king [Abáká Khan], stating that it would not only please the Christians to see Yaballaha appointed Catholicus, but that especially all the inhabitants of Bagh'dád would like it, as they hoped that not a little good would result from this appointment, Yaballaha being connected with the Mongols by nationality as well as language. Wherefore the king [Abáká Khan] agreed that Yaballaha should be raised to the dignity of Catholicus, and accordingly assembled about twenty-four bishops, all of whom came down together to Seleucia and Ctesiphon, where Yaballaha was ordained Catholicus. This Yaballaha, although but little versed in the doctrine and literature of the Syrians, was very moral, God-fearing, and displayed much charity towards the Jacobites.

Abáká appears to have been as strong a believer in soothsaying from the shoulder-blades of sheep as any of his ancestors: for whilst he was advancing to repel the invasion of Borak, and the two armies were already in the presence of each other, a soothsayer left the camp of Borak and went over to Abáká, to whom he announced certain victory from an inspection of shoulder-blades which he had made. The prince treated the soothsayer honourably, and promised, in case of the fulfilment of his prophecy, to present him with a village where he and all his family might live. He actually gained the battle, and, showing special consideration to the Mongol, religiously kept his promise.²⁷⁴

AHMAD.

He succeeded his brother Abáká Khan in 1282. By Christian authors he is called Tachodorus, but by Mirkhond *Nikúdár Ben Hulágu Khan*, which was his name before his conversion to Islam. Abul-

²⁷³ Aytonus, *Ass. Bibl. Or.*, t. III., pt. II., p. cxiii.

²⁷⁴ See *جامع التواريخ* in the *Collection Orientale*, pp. 199 seq.

faraj describes him as a friend to Christians, whilst Hayton asserts²⁷⁵ that he was a renegade, who persecuted them and became a Musalman. As Mirkhond states that when this Khan became adorned with the necklace of Islam he was named Aḥmad,²⁷⁶ the natural inference is that he must before that time have professed some other religion. It is not known with certainty whether Aḥmad was a sincere Moslem or not, but it is certain that even as late as the end of the 13th century the Lamas, and even the Káms, had not yet lost their influence and hold over the Mongol princes, who consulted them in a country very distant from their original seats, namely Persia. Thus when among the property of Majd-al-Mulk, who had on very weak grounds been accused of having poisoned Abáqá Khan, some leather with a vermilion inscription, probably intended for a charm, was discovered, the Káms and Bakhshis were asked what it was; they replied that it was an amulet, which ought to be macerated in water and the juice of it given to Majd-al-Mulk to drink, that the sorcery might take effect on himself.²⁷⁷ At that time Islam was spreading so rapidly that certain Mongol nobles who had not made their profession of it, being inimical to it, and fearing that the connection of Aḥmad with the princes of Egypt and Syria might increase its power, were highly pleased when his nephew Argh'un, the son of Abáqá, attacked, conquered, and finally slew Aḥmad,²⁷⁸ in 1284 (A.H. 683).

ARGH'UN.

This Khan slew all the courtiers of his predecessor Aḥmad, not sparing even the highest of them, Khajah Shams-al-din Muḥammad, whose sons even he exterminated. He was inimical to Moslems in general, but enjoyed nevertheless great authority, as he had the aid of the Grand Khan Kubilai, who confirmed him in his position, to fall back

²⁷⁵ Ass., *Bibl. Or.*, t. III., pt. II., pp. cxiv. seq.

²⁷⁶ چون نکودار اغول متقلد قلاده اسلام بود سلطان احمد موسوم

گشت Tome V., p. ۹۷.

²⁷⁷ بخشیان و قامان گفتند که آن تعویذ را بآب آغشته عصاره آنرا

مجدد الملک بخورد تا نتیجه سحر با و عاید گردد p. ۸۹.

²⁷⁸ بعضی امراء که از نور ایقان و عرفان سراچه دل ایشان

روشنی نپذیرفته بود از وداد و اتحاد سلطان احمد با ملوک مصر

و شام مفتکر گشتند و از ظهور قوه اسلام و مسلمانان برخوردار پیچان *Ibidem.*

upon in case of need. He entrusted Sa'd-al-daulah, a Jew by religion and a physician by profession, with the management of his finances. As this Jew had succeeded in considerably augmenting the revenues of Bagh'dád, even the highest Mongol officers—Togh'áchár Noyán, Ardukiá, and Joshi, who were governors of provinces—had been ordered to consult him in every matter, he himself being left free to act as he liked. Sa'd-al-daulah bestowed the governorship of Bagh'dád on one of his own brothers, Fakhr-al-daulah, and that of Dyárbekr on another. He would have made his own relatives and friends also governors of Rúm and Khorásán, had not the princes Kaikhatú and Gh'ázán occupied those positions. Sa'd-al-daulah was, however, a great and just Vezier, desirous to promote the civilization and welfare of Argh'ún Khan's possessions, wherein he succeeded to a considerable degree; when, however, his unlucky star was in the ascendant, the number of his foes increased naturally among the Moslems, over whom his coreligionists had commenced to domineer. According to Mirkhond,²⁷⁰ Sa'd-al-daulah was in the habit of reminding Argh'ún that the prophetic dignity, which had descended to him from Chenghiz Khan by way of inheritance, would be made effective only by the operation of the sword, and adduced Muḥammad as an example, who cut off the heads of nearly one thousand Jews in one day, and thereby compelled many to make their profession of Islam, and that therefore Argh'ún ought to destroy the Ka'bah and extirpate Islam by the sword. Such a project was, if actually made, a mere chimera, because Argh'ún could not suppress the rapid propagation of Islam even in his own dominions. The continuator of Abulfaraj's *Syriac Chronicle*²⁸⁰ states that ambassadors from the Pope and from other kings often made to Argh'ún Khan proposals of alliance with the Franks, to invade Egypt in conjunction with the Mongols, and that Argh'ún agreed; he also despatched Barsumas, the Oigur monk,—who had, with the Catholicus Yaballaha, arrived from the dominions of the Grand Khan,—as his ambassador to the Pope, with whom he made a treaty to attack the Arabs simultaneously and to extirpate them.

The just-mentioned Barsumas was of course the same whom Denha had appointed Catholicus of China, as appears also from the letters of Pope Nicholas IV. addressed to Argh'ún in 1288. At least a score of letters written by this Pope to various Mongol princes are in existence,

²⁷⁰ Mirkhond, vol. V., p. 108.

²⁸⁰ Ass., *Bibl. Gr.*, t. III., pt. II., p. cxvi.

as well as eight others sent in 1291 in the fourth year of his pontificate. In the first of these the receipt of a letter from Argh'ún Khan through his envoy is acknowledged, and he is exhorted to accept as soon as possible the holy rites of Christianity, and to unfold the Christian banner against the Saracens, as well as to protect the Minorite friars Matthew and William. The second is written to Kharbandah, —more politely named Khodabendah,—the son of Argh'ún, who had been converted by his own mother, baptized, and called Nicholas. The third, fourth, and fifth letters were addressed to Gh'ázán and to other princes; they were all admonished to make their profession of the Christian religion, as Nicholas had done. The sixth was written to a Mongol princess, requesting her to bring over two sons of Argh'ún to the Christian faith; the seventh to another princess to the same effect; and in the eighth Barsumas is exhorted to receive the Minorite friars Matthew and William with benignity.

In spite of the great hopes entertained by Pope Nicholas IV. that Argh'ún would make an open profession of Christianity, he manifested implicit belief in the superstitions of the Káms and Jogis, whom he continued to patronize to the utmost of his ability.³⁵¹ In the year 1299 (A.H. 698) a Jogi happened to arrive from Hindostán who pretended to be able to prolong life by means of a confection among the ingredients of which were oil, quicksilver, and sulphur. After taking this medicine for eight months Argh'ún fell mortally sick, and, no physician except Sa'd-al-daulah being present, the Bakhshis with others of the same stamp were consulted, but in vain. Now Joshi and Sa'd-al-daulah being in fear of their lives, intended to send for Gh'ázán as soon as Argh'ún Khan should expire; their enemies, however, forestalled and slew them, whereat the Moslems rejoiced immensely, and the Jews grieved. Argh'ún asked why Joshi and Sa'd-al-daulah had disappeared from his presence, and excuses were offered on their behalf; but he, although on his deathbed, was still shrewd enough to surmise what had befallen them, and himself expired shortly afterwards, his reign having lasted seven years.

KAIKHATU.

This Khan—also a son of Abáká, and younger brother of Argh'ún—was installed on the throne in 1291. Under this sovereign, called Re-

۱۵۱ ارغون بقایه معتقد قامان و جوکیان و طریقه ایشان بود و پیوسته

این دو طایفه را تقویه و ترتیب می فرمود Mirkhond, vol. V., p. ۱۰۸.

gayto by Hayton, and described by him as an imbecile entirely addicted to gluttony, the highest offices of state were again occupied by Moslems; nevertheless on falling sick he desired not only the U'lemmas of the latter, but also Christian monks and bishops, as well as Jewish priests, to offer prayers in his presence in their respective languages for his recovery.³⁵² He also asked the Kāms why the life of Argh'un Khan had been a short one, and on being informed that he was cut off because he had condemned many persons to death, Kaikhatú vowed never to cause the blood of any living being to be shed, which was undoubtedly an intention in perfect conformity with the tenets of Buddhism. It had been the policy of the Arab conquerors of Persia to retain for some time Pehlvi inscriptions and emblems of Zoroastrianism on their coins, but it may be considered as a sign of the growing importance of Islam in the dominions of Kaikhatú that he stamped his banknotes with the profession of faith, "No God but Allah; Muḥammad the apostle of Allah," to make them current; this device proved, however, of no avail, and he was at last compelled to abolish this Chinese invention, which went by the name of *cháo*, because metal coins gradually fell out of circulation, and the acceptance of *cháos* in lieu of them being made compulsory much discontent ensued.

This Khan reigned less than four years, as he was slain in 1295, together with several of his courtiers, by some rebellious nobles who had been imprisoned in Tabriz but made their escape, and were instigated to plunder Kaikhatú's camp by the Noyán Ṭogh'achár, who was desirous of placing Baidu on the throne, and was highly pleased that his plan had succeeded beyond all expectation.

Baidu.

This Khan was installed in the month of March 1295 (Jumada anterior 694) by Ṭogh'achár at Hamdán, or near it, with great rejoicings, on condition that all Moslems should be exempted from paying taxes.³⁵³ But, for all this partiality, Baidu appears not to have enjoyed the confidence of the Muhammadans, as the general Núruz vouched that he

*** علماء اسلام و راهبين و اساقفه و حكما يهود را حاضر كرد تا
 باختلاف السنه استبثائي عمر و استدامة ايام همايون را به نيات خالصه
 شرايط صدق و اخلاص بتقديم رسانيدند. *Ibidem*, pp. ۱۰۹.
 *** اوقات اهل اسلام را از تكاليف و مرقات ديواني معصوم و عامون

Ibidem, p. ۱۱۲. دارند

would remove Baidu from the throne like the curtain of unbelief, on condition that Gh'ázán should make his profession of Islam, whereupon he would instal him as Khan.²⁸⁵ This Gh'ázán promised to do, and did at Firuzkúh, in the presence of the Sheikh Çadr-al-din Hamuvy, when a multitude of military and civil Amirs who had hitherto been idolaters (Buddhists?) also made their profession of faith, and the name of Gh'ázán was changed to Maḥmúd. After the just-mentioned solemnity Gh'ázán nevertheless reproached Baidu with having transgressed the *Yásá* of Chenghiz Khan, and demanded the immediate extradition of the Amirs who had slain Kaikhatú. Soon also Togh'achár, who had placed Baidu on the throne, agreed with Núrúz and Gh'ázán about his deposition, and Baidu fled to Aderbaiján, but perished at last.

It is worth while inserting in this place also the account given by Hayton,²⁸⁶ leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions from it:—“This Baidu, like a good Christian, rebuilt the churches of the Christians, and ordered that no one should preach the dogmas of Muḥammad among the Tatars. And as those holding the tenets of the perfidious Muḥammad had greatly multiplied, they were irritated by the mandate of Baidu, and therefore secretly despatched messengers to Gh'ázán the son of Argh'ún, promising to give him the dominion held by Baidu, and to make him their lord, if he agreed to renounce the Christian faith; and Gh'ázán, who cared little for religion but greatly coveted power, agreed to do whatever they liked, wherefore he became a rebel. On the other hand, Baidu collected his people, intending to catch Gh'ázán and to hold him prisoner,—not knowing the perdition prepared by them for himself. When, therefore, they had arrived on the battle-field, all who adhered to the sect of Muḥammad left Baidu and fled to Gh'ázán. Baidu, seeing himself abandoned by all, took to flight, believing that he could escape, but his foes pursuing him he perished during it.”

According to the following account of the continuator of Abulfaraj's Syriac chronicle,²⁸⁶ Baidu conformed also to the customs of the Muhammadans, here called Hagarenes, and appears to have vacillated

*** بتوفیق یزدانی شاهزاده کردون غلامرا بر مسند جهانپانی نشانم
و باید ورا مانند حجاب کفر از میان بر گیرم بشرطی که پادشه متقلد
تلاذ اسلام شود

Ibidem, p. 113.

²⁸⁵ Ass., *Bibl. Or.*, t. III., pt. II., p. cxix.

²⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. cxix. seq.

between Christianity and Islam :—" Baidu was endued with singular humanity, modesty of behaviour, and gravity ; he most benignantly received all excellent and praiseworthy men, no matter to what religion they belonged, provided they were distinguished by probity of morals and continence ; he never dismissed them without presents, and was accustomed to bestow on them also royal garments. As he had lived many years with Despina, the daughter of the Byzantine emperor, and widow of Abáká, he was so well disposed towards Christians that he allowed a Christian chapel to be carried about in his camp, and bells to be rung ; but he by no means dared to call himself a Christian openly and publicly. As at this time all the Mongols, the people, the nobility, women and children, young and old, had embraced the sect of the Hagarenes, had begun to introduce circumcision, observed ablutions, and had learned well the prayers peculiar to the Muhammadans and performed them, Baidu himself, in order to please them, accommodated himself to the manners of the Hagarenes, whereby he very much reconciled to himself all the people of the realm. In this manner he oscillated to both sides, telling Christians that he was one of them, and wearing a crucifix suspended from his neck, whilst protesting to the Saracens that he was a Muhammadan ; for all that, however, he was not endeavouring to observe their fasts, and to learn anything about their ablutions ; and whenever the priests of the Saracenic superstition assembled for solemn prayers Baidu ordered his son to go to the orisons with them, thinking to soothe their minds and to appease their indignation by this artifice. But in vain, for it could not escape the Saracens that Baidu favoured the Christians more. Wherefore he was, after having for about five months administered the realm by these arts, unexpectedly and suddenly vanquished by Núrúz in a place named Kongor-Olan, in such a manner that Baidu was not even for an hour able to withstand the rush of the enemies, but was immediately compelled to turn his back and to flee quickly."

GH'AZAN (reigned from 1295 till 1303).

Before this Khan, the son of Argh'ún, attained full power, he was obeyed by several provinces, and levied tribute conjointly with his predecessor, till the latter was ousted from the throne. In levying tribute both these princes and their tax-gatherers appear to have considered the heads of the clergy as fair game to practise their extortions upon, as the priests were in their turn obeyed by their flocks, which were, after all, the real source whence the money came ; thus, for instance,

when Gh'ázán levied contributions in the province of Shiraz, Jellál-al-din, an officer of Baidu, on his part produced a counter-order of that prince empowering *him* to raise money, and in case of refusal to expel the bishops from the district.²⁸⁷ Afterwards we find Gh'ázán Khan, when his troops were in pursuit of Baidu, giving written orders to them in consequence of which they plundered a number of Christian churches and Zoroastrian temples known to contain gold and jewels.²⁸⁸

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS UNDER GH'AZAN.

To please Núrúz, who had raised him to the throne, but chiefly to extort money, Gh'ázán persecuted Christians; Zoroastrians, however, Jews, and even Buddhists were not excepted. The continuator of Abulfaraj's Syriac chronicle²⁸⁹ says, "He moreover promulgated an edict in which he commanded Christian churches, idol temples, and Jewish synagogues to be demolished, as also the priests of the pagan superstition [Buddhist?] to be capitally executed. He stigmatized the prelates of the Christian religion with infamy, and desired to load them with taxes and exactions; he also took measures that henceforth no Christian should show himself in public without a girdle, and that all Jews should wear a conspicuous mark on the top of their heads." According to the same author, during that persecution all the churches of the Christians, of the Jacobites as well as of the Nestorians, were demolished in the cities of Tabriz and Arbela; those, however, of the region of Mauçul escaped destruction for an enormous ransom. When the Mongols were thus by command engaged in the destruction of sacred edifices, they always showed great readiness to come to a compromise whenever people offered them money. Such was their intention also in Arbela, where they refrained for twenty days from their work of destruction, and expected that the people would redeem their churches, but their hopes being frustrated they razed both the Jacobite and the Nestorian churches to the ground. When the inhabitants of Nineveh heard of this case they were greatly afraid, and determined to ransom the churches of Nineveh

287 باسقاغا استرداد نمود ايشانرا از ولايت اخراج نمايند

Mirkhond, vol. V., p. 113.

288 باطراف و جوانب مکتوبات ارسال نمود تا مجموع کلیسیاهای
نصاری و دیر مجوس را که سالهای دراز بزر و دینار و جواهر شاهوار

مزمین و آراسته بودند غارت کردند. *Ibidem*, p. 115.

²⁸⁹ Ass., *Bibl. Or.*, t. III., pt. II., p. cxxii.

and Mauçul. Being unable to pay the immense sum required, they collected all the sacred vessels and furniture of the churches, not omitting even a crucifix, an image, or a censer, nor a copy of the New Testament adorned with silver or gold. All this being insufficient, they were compelled to implore the Christians of the more distant churches to send them contributions, and in this manner they succeeded in saving the churches by paying the Mongols fifteen thousand gold dinárs.

A'mru, who was a contemporary of the events described by him, and who wrote, like Abulfaraj, both in Arabic and in Syriac, says in the latter language,³⁰⁰ "Who can express in speech the persecutions, disgrace, shame, and ignominy which Christians endured at that time? But especially in Bagh'dád, where no Christian man can appear in the market, but women come forth in public, sell and buy, as they are not distinguished from Saracen women; if, however, they happen to be recognized, they are immediately assailed with abuse and insults, as well as struck with fists and sticks. In this way the Christians of those regions are abased, and most wretchedly tormented, whilst the foes of justice insult them, saying, 'Where is your God? Let us see whether you have a protector, or one who will save you and deliver you.' In these days, however, not only our people are abased by this persecution and ignominy, but also the Jews and idolaters (Buddhists?), with their priests, and a great deal more severely after the highest honours they had enjoyed from the Mongol kings, to such a degree that the moiety of the taxes flowing into the royal treasury was used for the construction of idols of gold and of silver." In the life of the patriarch Denha, the predecessor of Yuballaha, Amru states this persecution of Christians by the Muhammadans of Bagh'dád had taken place in the year 1607 of the Greck era, *i.e.* A.D. 1296; and after narrating how Denha and his predecessor Makikhas had been interred in the new church in the Duidar buildings situated near the river Tigris, he adds, "And after the Musalmans had taken this church from the Christians they ordered the sepulchres to be opened and the corpses to be taken out from them. Accordingly the Christians assembled in the said church on Thursday the 24th of Rabi posterior of the year 695, which corresponds to the month of Adar (March) and year 1607 of the era of Alexander, and removed the bodies of the fathers which were in the said church, namely the corpses of Mar Makikhas and Mar Denha, to the church of Sauk-al-thaláthá, whereat the faithful became greatly afflicted and prayed one day and night over them; then they buried

³⁰⁰ Ass., *Bibl. Or.*, t. III., pt. II., p. cxxiv.

Makikhas in the sacristy and Denha in the baptistry ; a solemn requiem was performed for them on the same day, which was Friday."²⁹¹

The author of the appendix and continuator of Abulfaraj bears witness that Hayton the king of Armenia obtained, during the beginning of the reign of Gh'ázán, a diploma from him, in which the demolition of churches was prohibited :—"When the pious, just, and faithful Hayton, king of Cilicia, heard that Baidu had become the conqueror and obtained the Mongol dominion, that he loved Christians, and favoured them more than other sects, he was desirous to come to the king's presence, render his allegiance, and carefully transact some affairs with him. He left his place accordingly with this intention, and consumed about two months in the journey. When he had arrived near the Sháh, he understood that the great general Núruz was about to arrive with his troops in order to attack Baidu, who had brought on his own destruction. Then Baidu sent an envoy to Hayton the king of Armenia, advising him to go to Maragh'ah and to rest there for a while, until he should himself, after bringing his affairs to a peaceful conclusion, return to his camp and invite Hayton to come. Therefore the king travelled to Maragh'ah, and remained in the place about ten days. Meanwhile Baidu, having been conquered by the great warrior Núruz, took to flight, and the king of kings Gh'ázán came to the castle of Tela-Ukhana, near Diahrkhurkana, whereupon Hayton immediately went to pay him homage, and gave him magnificent presents. The king of kings said, 'Thou hast not at all come to us, but to Baidu.' Hayton replied, 'I am under obligations to the whole Chenchiz-Khanian dynasty, and bound to hasten in order to offer my homage to him of that dynasty who ascends the throne, no matter who he may be.' Accordingly the king of kings received him kindly and gave him royal garments, ordering likewise a diploma to be written to satisfy

٢٩١ ولما اخذت المسلمين هذه البيعة من النصارى امروا ان تنبش المقابر وتوخذ الموتى منها فاجتمع النصارى الي البيعة المذكورة يوم الخميس رابع عشرين ربيع الآخر سنة خمس وتسعين وستمائة هلاله الموافقة لشهر اذار سنة الف وستمائة وسبعة للسكندر ونقلوا اجساد الابا الذين كانوا بالبيعة المذكورة وهما مار ماكينا ومار دنها واتوا بهما الي بيعة سوق المالا واغتموا المومنين لذلك عظيما وصلوا عليهم يوم وليلة ودفنوا مكينا في القنكي و دنها في بيت العباد وعمل لهم في ذلك اليوم وهو الجمعة ذكوان

Ass., Bibl. Or., t. III., pt. II., p. cxxv.

his wishes. As formerly an edict to demolish churches had been issued, Hayton prayed that none should be destroyed, as they are the vestibules of God and houses of prayer. He obtained a revocation of the former edict, and a new one was promulgated in his favour, whereby the destruction of churches was prohibited, and only idol-temples were to be converted into oratories and schools for the Saracens. In this manner very many Christian churches escaped ruin, by the exertions of this king, who left the camp with great joy on Sunday the 9th Tesri anterior (October) of the same, i.e. in the beginning of 1607 of the Greek year."²²²

GRADUAL CHANGE IN GH'AZAN'S CHARACTER.

It has been seen that Buddhism and Lamas enjoyed favour not only among the eastern or Grand Khans, but also among the western, i.e. Persian Khans, down to the end of the 13th century, who imported priests from Kashmir, China, Tibet, the Oigur country, and even from India. Hulagu had built temples for them; Argh'un consulted them not only as spiritual advisers, but as physicians; and Abáká entrusted the education of his grandson Gh'ázán to Lamas, for whom he retained great affection even in his manhood. When his father, Argh'un, appointed him governor of Khorásán he built magnificent temples in the town of Kabusham. There he spent the greater portion of his time, and even took his meals; his zeal for idolatry increased, and he was always in the company of Lamas.²²³ But the character of Gh'ázán began to change gradually when the Musalman officers who surrounded him came forward with their own views of religion, and constantly worked on his mind, which yielded to their persuasions in favour of Islam. Its rejection might have ruined all his prospects and probably endangered his life, and it has already been seen above that the most cogent reason which finally induced him to embrace the faith was the hope of becoming Khan, held out to him on that condition by Núruz, and the firm support of the Moslems. He complied, and obtained the throne.

It is clear enough from the antecedents of Gh'ázán that the persecution of Christianity above described must be ascribed rather to his Musalman surroundings than to himself, as also that the majority of the Lamas whom he compelled to become Moslems could not all at

²²² Ass., *Bibl. Or.*, t. III., pt. II., p. cxxvi.

²²³ *Collection Orientale*, *جامع التواريخ* p. 194, from MS. of Rashid-al-din, fol. 385.

once be sincere professors of the religion ; outwardly they were indeed Muhammadans, but in their hearts they still cherished their own errors and superstitions. Of this hypocrisy Gh'ázán Khan was fully aware, and therefore issued orders that the Lamas willing to return to Kashmir, Tibet, or India should be allowed to do so. He added, "As to those who choose to remain here, they must make a confession of their real sentiments, and cease to dishonour Islam by their hypocrisy. Those who build a pyræum or idol temple will be put to death." As nevertheless some persisted in their old ways of tergiversation, the Khan said to them, "My father, who had lived and died an idolater, built for his use a temple with a monastery, and bequeathed sums for the support of those of your sect. This temple has been degraded by my orders, but at present you may return there and live on alms." The princesses and nobles, profiting by this occasion, said to the Khan, "Your father built a monastery, on the walls of which his portrait had been painted. Now this edifice is abandoned, rain and snow are destroying these pictures : send the Lamas to inhabit the monastery in order to obtain peace for the soul of your father." This advice being rejected, they proposed to the Khan to convert this edifice into a palace ; but he again disappointed them, saying, "Although I intend to build a palace, I shall not select this locality, because it was the residence of idol priests. I am aware that you follow no special profession, but that the kings, the Musalmans, and the people in general of the places where you live retain you and support you for the services you render them : be, however, careful most cautiously to avoid every act of idolatry, or to manifest any attachment to your superstitions, or I will have you all beheaded."¹²²

How much influence the Mongols who had not yet made their profession of Islam still enjoyed appears from a letter of Núrúz himself to the Sultan of Egypt, which he sent by an ambassador, asking for aid on the plea that although Gh'ázán had become a Musalman, and was desirous of strengthening the faith, his Amirs hindered him from doing so.¹²³ The Amir Núrúz wrote letters of the same purport to his brothers, as well as to other high officers, in order to prepare them for

¹²² *Chahar Maqalat*, *al-tawarikh* p. 194 from MS. of Rashid-al-din, vol. 185.

¹²³ "پادشاه ما اگرچه مسلمان است و میخواهد که تبتی دین اسلام کند اما امراء مانع می آیند مطوع و مدافع آمدند و مدافع بدینکه بدینکه ایشان قیام نمایند." *Chahar Maqalat* vol. V. p. 117.

an invasion from Egypt and the complete triumph of Islam. But the letters were discovered, and Gh'ázán Khan not only had the brothers and lieutenants of Núrúz beheaded, but also him who had made him Khan, and who imagined that he could also undo him.²⁹⁶ Núrúz was slain in the month of Showal 696 (August 1298), but his faction at the court was so strong that Fakr-al-din, who had committed the deed, excused himself from making his appearance there, and was therefore appointed administrator of Gurjestán.²⁹⁷ In order to please the Musalmans, Gh'ázán Khan had the coins, which were, according to the Chinese fashion, quadrangular, made circular, and stamped with the profession of faith.²⁹⁸

That Gh'ázán Khan favoured Christianity more than other non-Moslem religions, may be conjectured also from the circumstance of his having even during the lifetime of Núrúz, when he ordered all the Mongols and Oigurs to prefer Islam on pain of death,²⁹⁹ refrained from compelling Christians and Jews to do so, and declared that they should only pay the capitation tax.³⁰⁰ Several authors go, however, still further, and positively assert that, after the death of Núrúz, Gh'ázán Khan made, through the instrumentality of his wife, who was a daughter of the king of Armenia, his profession of Christianity, and St. Anthony bears witness that a monster son of Gh'ázán miraculously obtained an elegant form of body as soon as the Khan was baptized.³⁰¹

۳۰۰ پادشاه شرایط تحقیق و تفتیش مهمل گذاشته برلغ داد که برادران و نواب نوروز که در عراق بودند معروض تیغ یا ساء کرد
Mirkhond, vol. V., p. ۱۱۷.

۳۰۱ Ibidem, p. ۱۱۸.

۳۰۰ و بجهت نیمن و نفال آل تمغاء و با بزه هارا از مربع مستدیر که افضل الاشکالیست مبدل ساخت و فرمود که در میان سکه لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله نقش کردند.
Ibidem, p. ۱۱۵.

۳۰۰ هر که گردن از انقیاد و از تکاب دین قوم پیچد سرش بیندازند
Ibidem.

۳۰۰ و اهل کتاب را که ملتزم جزیه شده باشند بنابر حکم مفتی

فوائین شرع تعرض نرسانند
Ibidem.

۳۰۱ "Christianum eum fuisse scribunt et Vestmonasteriensis Joannes Villanus. et Valsinghamus, etsi Bonifacius VIII. eum paganum vocat"—Ass., Bibl. Or.. t. III., pt. II., p. cxxvii.

Gh'ázán Khan was so apprehensive of risings among his subjects who professed Christianity, Judaism, Lamaism, and Zoroastrianism,—and who were not only accustomed to perpetual wars, but apprehensive of the sudden predominance of Islam, which, having been adopted by the sovereign himself and a great many nobles, threatened to annihilate all other creeds—that he entirely disarmed them, the Mongols alone enjoying the privilege of carrying weapons³⁰²; but the country became so insecure, and robbery increased to such an extent, that travellers and merchants never ceased their complaints until the prohibition was modified.

Gh'ázán, with the fate of the eastern Mongols before him, who had been expelled from China, was apprehensive that a similar fate might befall also the western ones, or at any rate that they would soon lose not only their language, character, and nationality, but would be entirely transformed into Persians, whose daughters they had begun to marry, and that they would altogether cease to be strangers after thus amalgamating with the people, and even embracing their religion. In such a case the chronicles of the Mongols recording their deeds of conquest, and written in their own language, would become a dead letter, fall into oblivion, and be lost to posterity. To prevent such a lamentable result, Gh'ázán Khan determined, whilst there was yet time, to get from these documents a work compiled in the Persian language; and being fortunate in having a learned Vezier, the celebrated Ráshid-al-din, he desired him to engage in the task, and to him the world is indebted for the existence of the *Jāmi'-al-tawárikh Rashidy*.

MUHAMMAD KHODABENDAH.

The Mongol name of this Khan, who ascended the throne after the demise of his brother Gh'ázán in 303 (A.H. 703), was Oljaitu, surnamed Kharbendah, which was afterwards changed to Khodabendah. At his inauguration, as at that of most of his predecessors, the princes of the blood were seated on his left and the princesses on his right,³⁰³ from which it appears that the Mongol sovereigns had even in the beginning of the 14th century not yet adopted the custom of keeping their ladies

۳۰۲ حکم شده بود که غیر زمره مغول هیچکس سلاح نگاه ندارد

Mirkhond, vol. V., p. ۱۲.

۳۰۳ خواتین گل رخسار برطرف بهین مانند مهر و ماه بر کرسیها و

منداها نشسته. Ibid., p. ۱۲۹.

veiled and away from public assemblies, according to the orthodox Moslem fashion. The new Khan determined to observe the *Yásá* of his deceased brother, and the Mongols who had become Moslems occupied the highest posts of the state, but no oppression was practised on Christians—orders were, on the contrary, issued to continue to treat bishops and their agents with the usual urbanity.²⁰⁴ Hayton states that Muḥammad Khodábendah—whom he calls Carbanda—had a pious Christian mother, and received the name of Nicholas when he was baptized, but that having after her death too much associated with Moslems he apostatized from the faith. He nevertheless sent in 1308, in the fifth year of his reign, an embassy to Pope Clement V., a letter from whom exists in which he calls him Olgetuca. During the reign of this Khan, also the Nestorian patriarch sent in 1304 his allegiance to Pope Benedict IX. in a letter despatched by Jacob, a monk of the order of Preachers. Yaballaha died on the 13th November 1317 (A.H. 717). A'mru speaks of him in the following strain:—"He enjoyed honour, glory, and authority more than any of his predecessors—to such a degree that the Mogul princes, the Khans, and their children uncovered their heads and bowed their knees to him. His authority extended over all the countries of the East, and in his time Christians were greatly exalted and much respected; but they fell towards the end of his life into the wretched abasement in which they remain to this day. He built a large monastery near the town of Marágh'ah; in his time, however, the new church [built in the Duidar edifices] and the [patriarchal] cell were taken, and the capitation tax was again imposed upon Christians. He outlived of the Mongol sovereigns not less than seven Khans, namely Abáqá Khan, Aḥmad Sultán, Argh'ún Khan, Kaikhatú Khan, Baidu Khan, Káran [Gh'ázán] Khan, and Kharbandah Khan; but Abu Sa'id, the son of Kharbandah, ascended the throne. This father, whose life was long, died on Saturday the eve of the third Sunday of the [anniversary of the] consecration of the church, which was the 13th Teshrin posterior (November) of 1629 of the era of Alexander the Greek, corresponding to the 7th Ramaḍán of 717. He expired in his own convent, which he had named after St. John; when, however, the Moslems prevailed and took the convent, his corpse was translated to the convent of St. Michael in the province of Arbela. He

۵۰۰ حکم شد تا امراء باسقفان و عمال بدستور معهود مباشر اشتغال

خود باشند Ibid., p. ۱۲۷.

governed the Church thirty-seven years, and his seat remained vacant after him three months and eight days."³⁰⁵ Timothy succeeded Yabalaha in February 1318.

Muhammad Khodābendāh happened, according to the continuator of Rashid-al-din,³⁰⁶ to be, A.H. 709 (A.D. 1309), in one of his palaces in the province of Arran when a terrible storm burst forth, and some of his relatives were struck by lightning. The Khan, frightened by this accident, decamped at once and took the road to Sultanieh. The Amirs represented to him that, according to the *Yāsā* of the Mongols, he would be obliged to pass through two fires for purification; and the Bakhshis, whose duty it was to perform this ceremony, assured the Khan that he had himself brought on this catastrophe by embracing Islam, which he must repudiate if he desired to experience the blessed effects of the said ceremony. The Khan deliberated three months with himself on this subject, but, instead of abandoning Islam, he only embraced the doctrines of the Shiahs. For all this, however, he was in Europe believed to be a Christian, as appears also from a letter of King Edward

305 و نال من العز والجاه والسلطان ما لا ناله احدا من قبله حتي ان ملوك المغول والقانية واولادهم كان يكشفون رؤسهم ويذركون قداسه و نقد حكمه في جميع الممالك بالشرق و ارتفع النصراني في ايامه الي عز عظيم و جاء كبير و انهبطوا في اخر ايامه الي ذلة رديه واستمرت الي هذا التاريخ و بناء دير عظيم بالقرب من مدينه مراغه و في ايامه اخذت بيعة الجديدة و القلعة و تجددت الجزية علي النصراني و توفي في ايامه من ملوك المغول سبع قانية و هم اباقا قان و احمد سلطان و ارغون قان و كيخسرو قان و بايدو قان و قارن قان و خرينده قان و تولي ابو سعيد قان ابن خريندا و عمر هذا الاب طويلا و استنح يوم السبت ليلة الاحد الثالث من قداس البيعة و هو الثالث عشرين من تشرين الثاني سنة الف و ستمائة و تسعة و عشرين لتاريخ الاسكندر اليوناني الواقع في سبع رمضان سنة سبعة عشر و سبعمائة لتاريخ العرب و دفن في ديرة الذي عمره علي اسم ماريوحنا و لما تغلبت المسلمين و اخذوا الدير نقل الي دير مار ميخائيل ببلد اربيل و كانت مدة ربا سنة سبعة و ثلاثين سنة و خلا الكرسي من بعده

ثلاثة اشهر و ثمانية ايام Ass., Bibl. Or., t. III., pt. II., p. cxxx.

306 Coll. Or., جامع القوارخ رشيدى, p. 196.

II. of England, who proposes to him an alliance to destroy the Musalmans.³⁰⁷ He died in 1316 (A.H. 716).

ABU SA'ID.

This Khan succeeded after his father's death to the throne in 1316. Two years afterwards the celebrated Vezier and historian Rashid-al-din lost his office by the intrigues of his enemies, and went from Sultanieh to Tabriz, where he was poisoned. In the same year, 1318, also Pope John XXII. appointed Francus Perusianus, a monk of the order of Preachers, to the archbishopric of Persia, giving him as suffragan bishops Geraldus Calvensis, Guilielmus Ada, Bartholomæus de Podio, Bernardinus de Placentia, Bernardus Moreti, and Bartholomæus Abaliati. Francus Perusianus having died in 1330, Joannes de Core was appointed in his place, with two new suffragan bishops, Thomas Semiscatensis and Jordanus Columbensis, who had been created such during the preceding year. On that occasion many missionaries of the order of Preachers were sent to Persia, Mongolia, and China.

Pope Clement V. had already in 1307, during the reign of the Grand Khan Temúr, appointed John de Monte Corvino to be archbishop of Peking, and had given him as suffragan bishops Andrew of Perugia, Nicholas of Bantoa, Gerard, Ulrich Sayfustdorf, Peregrine of Castello, and Guilielmus Villanova.³⁰⁸ Of all these monks only two reached their destination. John de Monte Corvino, who appears to have been not only the first, but also the last effective bishop of Peking, died about the year 1328, aged upwards of eighty years. His body was followed to the grave by pagans and Christians, with demonstrations of the greatest sorrow. In 1233 Pope John XXII. appointed a monk called Nicholas successor to John de Monte Corvino. This new prelate departed from Europe with twenty friars and six laymen, but they appear never to have reached Peking.

During the year 1317 the siege and destruction of Amida took place. On this occasion 12,000 persons were taken into captivity, and many Christians slain; the Moslems first plundered and destroyed the cathedral, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and the conflagration of the town lasted a whole month. All this was committed because the toparch of Amida had revolted from Sálekh, the lord of Mardin.³⁰⁹ Abu Sa'id died in 1335 (A.H. 736), having appointed Arpá Khan to

³⁰⁷ See Yule's *Cathay*, vol. I., p. 171, footnote.

³⁰⁸ *Ass., Bibl. Or.*, t. III., pt. II., p. cxxx., and Yule's *Cathay*, vol. I., p. 170.

³⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, p. cxxxii.

succeed him, but he was soon killed; and Hasan Buzurg ascended the throne in 1336, during the ominous period of the expulsion of the eastern Mongols—none of whom had embraced Islam—from China. Hasan Buzurg became the founder of a new dynasty, and henceforth Islam, which had gradually been embraced by successive western Khans, became not only hereditary among them, but the dominant religion of a vast extent of country from China to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

Thus the extirpation of Christianity was brought about in the countries ruled both by the eastern and the western Mongols; the former were driven out from China, and the latter embraced Islam. The missionaries fled; no one succeeded to Nicholas in Peking as the head of the Christian communities, which, being deprived of pastors, secretly lingered on for some time, as they suffered persecutions whenever they were discovered; and at last they disappeared altogether, so that the Portuguese could not find a single Christian when they arrived at Canton in 1517. The preaching of Christianity by the Minorite Friars lasted till 1369, when all foreigners were expelled; and from that period till 1552, when St. Francis Xavier, of the Society of Jesus, arrived, who was later, in 1600, followed by Father Ricci and others, Christianity was not preached. As the Church had acquired a footing in Persia, but especially in Syria, from apostolic times,—and even the invasion of the Arabs after the promulgation of Islam could not annihilate Christianity, and the Mongols, who came several centuries after them, did not proselytize, but were themselves converted,—its adherents were subject to comparatively less suffering; this, however, increased when the Mongols became Moslems and in their turn also propagated Islam. In the more eastern countries they succeeded in their efforts so well that not a single Christian community was left in Samarkand, Bokhara, Herat, and other places which were formerly bishoprics; but in Persia itself small Christian communities always existed, and survived down to our times, such as also the case with Mesopotamia, but more especially in Syria. In modern times both Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries are labouring among the Arab and Persian Christians, the Armenians and the Nestorians. Their stations are at Beirut, Smyrna, Jerusalem, Bagdad, Jeddah, Urumia, &c., but the late Dr. Wolf was the only missionary who ventured, more than thirty years ago, to pass alone through the more remote localities of Central Asia, to visit Bokhara, and to make his way from there down to Samarkand.

ART. VI.—*Coins of Āndhrabhṛitya Kings of Southern India.*
 Prepared from information given by Paṇḍit BHAGAVĀNLĀL
 INDRAJĪ, Hon. Mem. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., and revised by
 Surgeon-Major O. CODRINGTON.

[Read, September 8, 1877.]

These coins were given to me by the late Secretary for decipherment and remarks. They are nineteen in number—eight belonging to this Society, and eleven to the President, the Honourable James Gibbs. They were found at Kolhāpur, and were sent by Rao Bahādur Mādhavarāo Barve, the Kārbhāri of that State, from whom I learnt that they were discovered near the hill of Brahmapuri, commonly called Banpuri, north-west of the town, hidden in an earthen pot at a depth of about fifteen feet, where the ground was being dug for making a road up the hill, on the top of which hill there are still standing some Jain temples and some other old remains.

The pot in which the coins were found was about a foot in diameter, and of ordinary round shape. The coins were so rusted and stuck together in it that the pot had to be broken to remove them; many of them, too, were so corroded, especially the copper ones, that they fell to pieces in attempting to separate the mass, and thus the exact number of the hoard could not be ascertained, but there appear to have been above six hundred. About one-half were of white leaden metal, the rest of copper. Of the latter kind all except some six were so corroded as to be quite useless for decipherment. The former were in much better preservation; many were oxidized and looked white as if made of clay, but the inscription and device on several could be distinctly seen, and the metal of some was quite uncorroded.

Some other specimens of these coins were sent to the Honourable Vishvanāth N. Maṇḍlik, and were shown to me; there were thirteen lead ones, good specimens, and three copper, not good. They were just the same as those I am now describing, and do not throw any additional light on the subject. Some, too, were sent to the late Dr. Bhāṭ Dāji, which I saw, but have not had an opportunity of examining.

The coins are of the reigns of three different kings of the same dynasty, viz. four of Vāsisthiputra, four of Maḍhariputra, and eleven of Gotamiputra. Those in the possession of Mr. Maṇḍlik are in much the same proportion, viz. two Vāsisthiputra, four Maḍhariputra, and eleven Gotamiputra.

As in any hoard the number of coins of the reign when the collection was made is usually greater than those of earlier dates, it may be inferred that all these coins were current in the time of Gotamiputra, and that the other two kings, Vāsisthiputra and Maḍhariputra, reigned some time before him. The examination of the coins confirms this inference. It has often been noticed that coins of the same type gradually deteriorate in fineness of workmanship from those first struck, those of each subsequent king becoming by degrees less perfect imitations of the original die, and made with less care in details and in form of the letters; and this can easily be seen on comparing the coins of these three kings. On those of Vāsisthiputra the tree on the reverse has a thick bottom, a tapering stem, and moderate well-formed leaves, the domes of the Chaitya are round and ornamented with a dot in each, and the letters on the obverse are symmetrical. Such is not the case with the coins of the other two kings; the tree on them has equal thickness from bottom to top, the leaves are ill-shaped, the domes are less round and have no dots, and the letters are not neat. From their appearance I conclude that Vāsisthiputra was the first, Maḍhariputra the second, and Gotamiputra the third in succession; and this is more satisfactorily proved by the fact that one coin bears evidence of having been originally one of Vāsisthiputra which has been re-struck with the die of Maḍhariputra, and in the same way two others bear the impression of Gotamiputra over that of Maḍhariputra, as will be seen in the description of coins 6, 13, and 14. All this leaves, I think, no doubt that the order of succession of the kings is as I have given it.

The coins of the three kings, both lead and copper, resemble each other, inasmuch as they have in common on the obverse a bow and arrow surrounded by the inscription of the name and title of the king. The point of the arrow is directed exactly to the space between the beginning and end of the inscription, and this probably was so arranged with a view of not showing any disrespect for the king, as might be supposed if the arrow were represented as pointing at his name or title; and this is in accordance with a general custom in India of

Nos. 13 and 14 belong to Gotamiputra, as above, but they are very interesting coins, for on them the stamp of that king has been impressed upon what were coins of Maḍhariputra. No. 13 is broken, the part of the usual inscription *Raño Gotamipu* is readable, showing that the coin is of Gotamiputra; the rest of the legend is lost in the broken part, but nearer the rim at the upper part of the obverse the name of Maḍhariputra is seen and can be read, although the letters are defaced. It seems pretty evident that the latter name is the one first struck on the coin.

On No. 14 the stamp of the obverse of Gotamiputra coins is distinct, evidently impressed over the reverse of an old coin, the square corner of the old Chaitya being pretty plain. On the reverse there is the usual Chaitya and tree, on the left of which the word *Maḍhariputra* is distinctly read.

Nos. 15 and 16 are not very important, but very good specimens of Gotamiputra coins.

Nos. 17 and 18 are both of copper. The first is but a broken piece, having on the obverse a bow and arrow, and an inscription (Plate I., Fig. 12) forming the beginning and end of the Vāsisthiputra legend on the leaden coins: *Raño Va...sa Vīdivāya Kurasa*. On the reverse is a much-defaced Chaitya with, on the right of it, a figure *Y*, which is very often seen on Buddhist inscriptions and coins.

No. 18 seems to belong to Gotamiputra, for its workmanship is rather inferior to the last; on the obverse the portion of the inscription *Vīdivāya Kurasa* is only perceptible (Plate I., Fig. 13). On the reverse is a Chaitya surmounted by a tree, on the left of which is a *Svastika*, and on the right a figure as on the last coin.

No. 19, a leaden one, belongs to Gotamiputra, but differs from the others in that it has on the reverse, in addition to the Chaitya and tree, an inscription similar to that on the obverse. Whether this was so done on purpose, or whether in re-stamping a defaced coin the legend of the former stamping remained, is doubtful.

Remarks.

We get the names of three kings from these coins—Vāsisthiputra, Maḍhariputra, and Gotamiputra. I identify the second with one of the same name mentioned in my paper "On a new Andrabhritya King," published in the last number of this journal (Vol. XII., p. 497).

Kings of the name of Vāsisthiputra and Gotamiputra are found in Nāsik cave inscriptions (No. 26 of Mr. West's Nāsik Inscriptions).* I have examined this inscription; it records the gift of a beautiful cave, on the 13th day of the second fortnight of Ghrishma (summer) of the 19th year of the reign of Vāsisthiputra Padumāvi, to an assemblage of co-religionists of Bhadāvaniya Bhikshusangha by Gotami, the mother of king Gotamiputra (who is eulogized in the inscription). There is no mention made as to the relationship between Vāsisthiputra, in whose reign the gift was made, and Gotamiputra, whose mother was the donor. However, there occurs close to this inscription another one of the same date, written in smaller letters, wherein is recorded the order of Vāsisthiputra Padumāvi himself to his minister at Govardhan, which seems to show that he, Vāsisthiputra, was a ruling king at that time. In the former inscription Gotami is described as an empress, mother of a great king, and grandmother of a great king; this is a clear proof that she had a grandson who was also a great king at that time, and who was probably the mentioned ruling king, Vāsisthiputra; and Gotamiputra, who is greatly praised in the inscription, appears to be the father of Vāsisthiputra, from which circumstance it seems that he is not the same person as the Gotamiputra of these coins, who was, we think, of a later date than Vāsisthiputra. And on comparing the letters of the Nāsik inscriptions with those on the coins it appears that the letters *sa*, *ta*, &c. of the coins of Gotamiputra are of a later date than those of the time of Vāsisthiputra in the cave inscriptions, whilst the letters on the coins of Vāsisthiputra show no difference from those of the same king's inscriptions. We have not hitherto been able to find out another king of the same name about this period, but all the above circumstances enable me to identify the Vāsisthiputra of the cave inscriptions with the one of these coins, and I assume the Gotamiputra of the coins not to have been the one of that name who was the father of Vāsisthiputra and son of the great empress Gotami, but a descendant, and on this supposition I prepare this list of the order:—

1. Gotamiputra I.
2. Vāsisthiputra.
3. Maḍhariputra.
4. Gotamiputra II.

Some leaden coins of this dynasty were found by Colonel Mackenzie at Dharnikot, of Dakshina Sarkār, which are copied by Sir Walter

* *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. VII.

It is rather hard to venture an opinion as to these four coins belonging to one and the same king of the name, yet there is little doubt that Nos. 96 and 105 do belong to the same, for they bear a close resemblance in name and title. The size of 96 appears to be one-half of that of 105.

We have found two kings of the name of Gotamiputra; now comes the question to which of them do these coins belong. The character of the letters is of a later date than those of Vāsisthiputra in the cave inscriptions, but the type of the coins is different from those I have been describing from Kolhāpur; but I think they are of the same king, i.e. Gotamiputra II., and that probably there were different kinds of coins for different districts. Our coins come from Kolhāpur, in the Southern Marāṭhā Country, and are samples of the Mahārāshṭra currency; the other from Dharnīkoṭ, in the Dakṣiṇa Sarkār, which was originally the capital of that dynasty, and probably are some of those current in that part. Coins of two types but of the same prince are current in the present time; for instance, Sindhiā has three kinds,—one current in Gwālior, the second in Ujein, the capital of Mālwa, and the third in Bhilsa.

We have a very limited knowledge of this dynasty; the Purāṇas throw some light on it, but we cannot much rely upon them. They say, however, that the first king of the dynasty, who killed Suśarman of the Kānava dynasty, was called, according to the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*,* Sīpraka, in *Vāyu Sindhuka*, and in the *Matsya Śisuka*. In all the Purāṇas he is described as belonging to the Āndhra caste, and as servant to Suśarman, and in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* he is described as the founder of the Āndhrabhṛitya dynasty; and so we name the dynasty, but we have hitherto been unable to trace this name of Andhrabhṛitya from inscriptions.

Gotamiputra is described in Nāsik cave inscriptions as the restorer of the glory of the Śātavāhana dynasty.† This seems to show that he was one of the Śātavāhana family, and this name may have been derived from some one of the name in the family who was glorious, from whom all his descendants may have been called.

There is an inscription of Vedisiri, a descendant of the Śātavāhana

* Wilson's *Vishṇupurāṇa*, p. 472.

† *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.*, vol. VI, Nāsik Inscriptions, No. 26.

family, in a cave at Náneghát, wherein are recorded several Vedic sacrifices given by him ; and on the front wall of the cave were carved several life-size figures, which are now much broken, but their names are written in big ancient letters in the Prákṛit language over their heads ; copies of these are given in the following plate.

No. 1.—*Ráyá Simuka Śátaváhano Sirimáto*,
or it can be written in Sanskrit as—

Rájá Śrimukha Śátaváhanaḥ Śrimán,

“ King of a beautiful face, wealthy Śátaváhana.”

Śrimukha has the same meaning as *Bhadrámukha* in other inscriptions.

No. 2 is above the heads of two figures standing side by side—

Devi Náyanikáya Ráño cha Śri Śátakanino,

in Sanskrit—*Devi Náyanikáyáḥ Rájnascha Śri Śátakarṇinaḥ,*

“ Of Queen Náyanika and King Śátakarṇi.”

No. 3.—*Kumáro Bháya*

Sanskrit—*Kumáro Bháya*

or “ Prince Bháya”

The part bearing the name of the prince is broken : it probably ran *Bháyala*.

No. 4.—*Maharathágrinaka Yiro.*

Sanskrit—*Maháráthágranika* or *Maháráshṭrágranaka Virah* (?),
or “ Chief of the Great Warrior,” or “ Chief of the Maháráshṭras.”*

No. 5.—*Kumáro Hakuṣiri,*

Sanskrit—*Kumáro Haku Śrihiḥ* (*Harsha Śrihi* (?), “ Prince Haku Śri.”

No. 6.—*Kumáro Śátaváhano,*

Sanskrit—*Kumáraḥ Śátaváhanaḥ*, “ Prince Śátaváhana.”

It is customary with the Jains and Nepálese Buddhists to have the figures of the members of their families carved in their temples, known by the name of *Sálika*. The order in which the figures of a man's family are carved is, first father, then mother, himself, wife, brothers, sons, &c.—a very natural order indeed. I can from this infer that the

* The word in the original is *Maháráthágranika*, which can also be read *Maháráthántranika* (in Sanskrit *Maháráshṭratránaka*), the meaning of which is “ Protector of Māhárāshṭra.”

figures carved in the Náneghāt caves, the inscription in which records the gifts of Vediśri, are those of the family of this king; and I conclude the first figure, Śátaváhana, was that of his father; the next male figure was of himself, the reigning king, and the female figure alongside it to be meant for his queen. These two are represented as king and queen, and over the head of the king is written *Śátakarni*, his ancestral name, but not his own special name. The next figures, which are named *Kumára*, or prince, may be those of the sons of the king Vediśri. The figure No. 4 does not, however, bear the title of *Kumára*, and it is probable that it may represent the king's brother, or some brave officer in his service. On this supposition the list of the family may be prepared as follows:—

King Śátaváhana.

|

King Śátakarni (Vediśri?).

|

|

Kumára Bháya... *Kumára Hákusiri.* *Kumára Śátaváhana.*

This Vediśri is described in the inscription as *Angiya Kulavadhanasa* ("Promoter of the family of Angiya"). This expression is always used with reference to one's own family. Should, however, by mistake of the engraver, *gi*, have been cut instead of *ghi*, which it resembles, the name of the family can be read as *Andhiya*, which is the correct Prákṛit of the Sanskrit *Āndhriya*.

In the *Bhāgavata* the founder of the Āndhra kings is described as Vriśala (Śúdra), but none of the kings that we have hitherto come across appear to be of Śúdra caste, for the names, such as Vediśri, Yajñaśri, of kings, and Gotami, Vásiṣṭhi of queens, are somewhat like those of superior caste, as Bráhmaṇ or Kshatriya; and the several Yajnas described in the Náneghāt inscriptions tend to show a superior caste. So it seems most probable that the name of the founder, which occurs as Śiśuka or Śuruka, might have been read by the author of the *Bhāgavata* in mistake as Śúdraka, and in consequence he might have described him as of Vriśala or Śúdra caste.

The names of the kings which we get from the Náneghāt inscription do not exactly correspond with those mentioned in the Purāṇas, but we cannot have much faith in the correctness of the latter, as not only do the names given in one Purāṇa differ from those in another, but also there is a difference in the names as given in different copies of the same

Purāṇa. The list from the *Mātsya Purāṇa* given by Professor H. H. Wilson in his notes to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* is well made out, and the names can be identified with those in the Nānēghāt inscription. It is as follows :—

Name of King.	Years.	Name of King.	Years.
1 Śiśuka	23	16 Gorakshāśvaśri	25
2 Kṛishṇa	18	17 Hāla	5
3 Simalakarṇi.....	18	18 Mantalak	5
4 Purnotsanga	18	19 Purindrasena...	5
5 Śrivasvāni	18	20 Rajādasvāti ...	0 6 mths.
6 Śātakarṇi.....	56	21 Śivasvāti	23
7 Lambodara	18	22 Gautamiputra .	21
8 Apītaka	12	23 Pulomat.....	28
9 Sangha.....	18	24 Śivaśri	7
10 Śātakarṇi.....	18	25 Skandhasvāti ..	7
11 Skandhasvāti	7	26 Yajnaśri.....	9
12 Mrigendra	3	27 Vijaya	6
13 Kuntalasvāti	7	28 Vadaśri	10
14 Svātikarṇa	1	29 Pulomat.....	7
15 Pulomāvit	36		

The title *Kuntala Svāmi* (or "lord of Kuntala") seems to have been applied to Śātavāhana.* I therefore identify the Kuntala of the Purāṇa with Śātavāhana of Nānēghāt. Then No. 14 is Svātikarṇa; this seems to be a mistaken name of Śātakarṇi, whom I identify with No. 2 in the Nānēghāt inscriptions, and whom I believe to be identical with Vedaśri Śātakarṇi. Nos. 15 and 16, Pulomāvit and Gorakshāśvaśri, cannot be identified with any Nānēghāt inscription name; they may probably have been the sons of Śātakarṇi. No. 17 is called Hāla; I identify him with Kumāra Śātavāhana of Nānēghāt, for this appellation is well known in Kosha. The four names 18 to 21 are not known to us as yet. Then comes No. 23, Pulomat, whom I identify with Vasisthiputra of our coins, and who is called in the Western Indian inscriptions by the names of Pulumayi, Pudumāyi, and Paḷumāvi. The next, No. 24, is Śvaśri, whom I identify with Maḍhariputra. He is called Śrisena in the Kanheri cave inscriptions. No. 25, Skandasvāti, about whom we are still in the dark. No. 26, Yajnaśri, I identify with Gotamiputra Yajnaśri, Satakarṇi.

* Vide *Vātsyāyana Kāmasūtra*, कर्त्तव्या कन्तलः शानकाणिः शानवाहना महर्दिवी मन्वावतीम् ।

In conclusion, let us make a few observations with regard to the period when these kings flourished. Náneghāt inscriptions do not give any datum upon which we can fix the time of Śātavāhana, yet there is no fear of contradiction if we say that the inscriptions of Naneghāt are of much earlier date than those of Nāsik, as appears from the letters used in No. 26 inscription of the latter place, in which a description of Gotamiputra I. is given, and from which we get means to fix the probable date of the reign of Gotamiputra, which will give us aid in finding the time of Śātavāhana also. According to Dr. Bháú Dáji, too, Gotamiputra is described in the Nāsik inscriptions as the destroyer of the descendants of Kshaharāta.*

In the Nāsik cave inscriptions we find a king of this dynasty of the name of Nahapána, who is called by the name of Khakharata in the Kārli inscription. Nahapána was a Kshatrapa, and his coins resemble in form those of other Kshatrapas found in Málwá, Gujarát, and Káthiávád, but they appear older than any of the others.

'Kshatrapa' in Sanskrit means 'a muster of Kshatris,' but if, as supposed by Prinsep, the word is the same as 'Satrap,' the prefect of a province under the Persian system of government, it is possible that these Kshatrapas were governors of some interior parts of India under some sovereign kings ruling in the northern frontier of the country. The first among them may have been this Nahapána, and the next Chastana. The Bactrian inscriptions which appear in their coins together with the Sanskrit ones tend to show a connection with a paramount power in the northern part, where the Bactrian character was in use at the time.

Nahapána and Chastana were two unconnected Kshatrapas governing one after the other, but the descendants of the latter seem to have succeeded one another in the rule, and the Bactrian legend does not appear on the coins of the descendants of Chastana. From this I infer that the supremacy of the paramount power was exercised upon them until Chastana's time, and that subsequently—owing, perhaps, to some revolution—these governors became independent rulers of the districts in their charge. The figures of eras found on the coins of the Kshatrapas may be the era of their kings. Dr. Bháú Dáji proposed that the era was the Śaka era, for these are written in the inscription called '*Śakanripakálálita saivatsara*,' or 'the year after the time of king Śaka'; or *Śaka varaha*, or 'era of Śaka.'

* *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. VIII., p. 87.

The Kshatrapas may perhaps have been governors under the Śaka kings.

We find the era 40 and 42 in the Nāsik inscriptions of Ushavadāta, son-in-law of Kshaharāta Kshatrapa Nahapāna; it is not evident what era this was, but in all probability it is the same as that on the Kshatrapa coins. Whether Nahapāna was alive at that date or not is a matter of doubt, for the inscription belongs to his son-in-law, but an inscription in the Junar caves recording a gift by his own minister in the year 46 enables us to infer that he was then living. Now, taking the era as Śaka, it makes $(46 + 78)$ 124 of the Christian era. If, as we have said, Gotamiputra was a destroyer of the Kshaharāta dynasty, he must have flourished after the above-mentioned time. From his inscriptions it appears that he had other provinces,—Surāshtra, Kukura, Aparānta, and Akarā-Avanti,—and these probably were regained by Chastana, as we find from the inscriptions of Rudra Dāmā of Junāgaḍh that his descendants were rulers of them, and that he (Chastana) reigned about the 57th year of the era. On the coins of his great-grandson Rudra Siṅha I have found figures of the years from 102 to 117, and the former date may have been near the commencement of his reign. In the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudra Dāmā, father of Rudra Siṅha, we find the figure of the year 72, which was the year of the beginning of his reign. The reign of Jaya Dāmā, son of Chastana and father of Rudra Dāmā, seems to have been of very short duration, as is evident from the great scarcity of his coins. If we allot five years for its length, the date of the termination of the reign of his father, Chastana, comes to nearly 67, or $(67 + 78 =)$ 145 A.C. As Chastana had regained the lost provinces, we may suppose him to have been of full age, and, taking the length of his reign at ten years, the date of the beginning of his reign comes to 57, or $(57 + 78)$ 135 A.C. This enables us to fix the date of Gotamiputra's conquest as between 124 and 135 A.C. From this it is inferred that Gotamiputra gained his victory in his full age, and it is probable that Chastana regained them either in Gotamiputra's old age, or during the reign of his son Vasisthiputra, Padumāvi, or Pulumayi. So it appears that Chastana and Vasisthiputra Padumāvi were, very likely, contemporaries. Tiastenes of Ujein alluded to by Ptolemy has been identified by Dr. Bhāṇu Dāji with Chastana, and Lassen and Wilford identify Polemens of Paithan, also alluded to by Ptolemy, with Padumāvi, and this supposition is strengthened by the above.

The period of the reign of Śātavāhana of Nāneghāt inscriptions, whom we have identified with Kuntalasvāti of the *Matsya Purāṇa* list, comes, according to the years given in the list, to nearly 113 years previous to the time of Gotamiputra, or between (124—113) 11 A.C. and (135—113) 22 A.C.

ART. VII.—*A Brief Notice of two Arabic Manuscripts on the History of Yemen, by E. REHATSEK, with Notes from Portuguese sources, by DR. GERSON DA CUNHA.*

[Read, November 17, 1877.]

The title of the first manuscript is *الجمهورية المنيرة*, and the name of the compiler is *مطهر بن محمد بن المنتصر*; it is nearly a foot long, eight and a half inches broad, and two thick, and has 361 leaves.

The person whose name is on the title-page did not himself compose, but only compiled, the book, the material of which is good strong country paper, well preserved, but here and there somewhat negligently written, and has European binding, with the printed title *Jookhurut ool Mooneereh, A History of Yemen*, on the outside.

On examining this manuscript, its title, *A History of Yemen*, proves to be somewhat of a misnomer, as it embraces the doings, but more particularly the sayings and letters, of three princes only, namely, Kāsam, born A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582); his son Ḥasan; and Ḥosain, the son of the latter, who are pompously called not only Emāms, but also Commanders of the Faithful, although their jurisdiction extended only over a small part of Yemen, and more especially the region of Ḥana'ā. The account terminates with the events of A.H. 1054 (A.D. 1641), and is throughout strongly tinged with Shya'h opinions—so much so, indeed, that in one of the numerous traditions inserted about Kāsam, the first of the above-named Emāms, it is asserted that in his infancy he was believed to be the long-expected Mahdi, who is to be the last of the Emāms, and who will herald the destruction of the world. It appears, however, that after arriving at man's estate he attained no distinction except as a saint, in which light numerous pious traditions are chronicled concerning him. Not much of his public life is recorded, but accounts of some of his officers are given, who appear to have been insignificant men beyond their own little circle. Already, during the lifetime of Kāsam, the Turks had been in the habit of now and then invading Yemen, but in small numbers, and chiefly along the coast only; accounts of hostilities with them on a petty scale are mentioned in various portions of the

book, but very unmethodically, and on the authority of various persons from whom the compiler gathered his scraps of information; numerous blanks also occur where it was intended to insert the years in which certain events took place. It is worth remarking that in the battles recorded in this manuscript the number of troops engaged never exceeded a thousand men, and sometimes was as small as a hundred, or even fifty, especially when the Arab tribes fought among themselves. Pieces of poetry by various authors are here and there inserted, chiefly to commemorate victories, but also a few events of another kind.

If Kaṣam was a saint, his son Ḥasan appears to have been a warrior, as his contests with the Turks and internal foes occupy the larger portion of this manuscript. He even marched to Najd and to Tahamah from a place which, when it was not in the possession of others, or when he was not on the move, served as his residence—namely, Ḥana'á. From this town he used to sally forth against the Turks, and on one occasion he marched against the English (*Injiriz*, *النجريز*), who had made a descent at Mokha; unfortunately they are mentioned only in one line, and the date of the year is not given. At that time also Hayder Pasha, a Turkish general, caused much trouble to the Commander of the Faithful, the Emám Ḥasan, who was assisted by his son and successor, Hosain. They once ventured as far north as Jeddah, to attack the Turks on the coast.

All the letters inserted in the manuscript, and purporting to have passed between the Emám Ḥasan and A'li Pasha and other Turks, A.H. 1040 (A.D. 1630), appear to be rather clumsy inventions, as they consist mostly of pious sayings and empty verbiage, with scarcely any allusions to the events or persons of the time. During the year just mentioned peace was concluded with the Turks, but it was soon broken, as usual; and the war continued during the reign of Hosain in the same paltry style and indecisive manner as under his father. When Hosain died, some of his sons—*e.g.* Muḥammad, Ḥafyullah, Aḥmad, &c.—appear to have reigned simultaneously, as well as one Ḥaremuddin, who was not a member of the sacred family of the descendants of A'ly, the son-in-law and cousin of the Prophet. According to the colophon this manuscript was completed on the 13th Dúlhejjaḥ 1057 (10th January 1648), namely, about four years after the events with which it terminates; it must now be two hundred and twenty-nine years old.

The other manuscript, which likewise purports to be a history of Yemen, fell into my hands about fifteen years ago, and also describes first mostly petty wars between various chiefs, and afterwards against some Egyptian and Turkish troops. The name of the author is **عيسى بن لطف الله بن المطهر**. The work is arranged according to years, beginning with A.H. 901 (A.D. 1495-6) and ending with A.H. 1029 (A.D. 1619-20). This copy was made A.H. 1163 (A.D. 1749-50), by **عبد الرحمن بن محمد الاحساوي**. The only passage which I thought worth copying and rescuing from oblivion is as follows:—

ودخلت سنة تسع عشرة وتسعمائة وفي المحرم منها وصل العلم
بقدم ثمانية عشر مركب الى بندر عدن من الفرنج فجهز السلطان عامر
عسكرا كثيرا الى ثغر عدن وامرهم بالتحفظ منهم وامر بالقنوت عليهم
في العلوات بجمع المساجد وفي خطبة الجمعة وكان وصولهم الى عدن
ليلة الجمعة السابع عشر من المحرم فامر الامير اهل عدن بالتغافل
عنهم والا شتغال بتحصين البندر والاخذ بالحزم ثم ان الفرنج خرجوا
الي الساحل بسلا لم قد صنعوها علي اقصر جانب من سور عدن فطلعوا
عليها الي السور ودخل بعضهم الى المدينة فامر الامير اهل عدن
بالخروج اليهم فخرجوا وحازوا السلا لم وقتلوا منهم بعضا واسروا
اربعة فانهزم الفرنج والله المنة ثم انهم لما عرفوا ان لا طاقة باخذ
المدينة اخرجوا المراكب التي كانت في البندر خوفا من الغارة عليهم
ثم ساروا الي باب المندب ثم الي المخا ومروا بها ثم الي البتعة ولم
يدخلوا شيئا من هذه البنادر ثم ساروا الي الحديدية وحاولوا دخولها
فدخلوها من اويل شهر صفر ونهبوا ما فيها وقتلوا من وجدوا بها من
اصحاب السلطان منهم الشريف محمد بن عبدالعزيز بن سفيان ثم
رجعوا الي البحر بتدبير راي لم يتم وفي شهر صفر اجتمع عدة من
اهل صنعا وتواطوا علي الغدر بالامير شمس الدين علي بن محمد
البعداني فظهر سرهم وانكشف امرهم فكل بهم واذقهم وبال امرهم
ونتيجة مكرهم ثم ان الفرنج لما تركوا كهران خاوية علي عروشها
نجهزوا الي عدن وتخلف منهم مركبان عزما الي زيلع فاحترقا مافي

بندرها من الخشب ثم لحقا اصحابهما المتوجهين الى بندر عدن ولم
يقدروا علي اخذ عدن فرموة بالمدافع واخربوا بعض وقتلوا جماعة
في الاسواق ثم انه جري بينهم وبين اهل عدن حرب عظيم فخرج
فيه عدة من الفرنج ونصر الله المسلمين فله المنة والحمد بدفع تلك
المحنة وانصرفوا عن بندر عدن اول يوم من شهر جمادي الاخر

"Then the year 919 began, and in the Moharrem of it [March 1513] the news arrived that eighteen European [Faranj] ships had entered the port of A'den. Accordingly the Sultán A'ámier assembled numerous troops near A'den, commanding them to be on their guard, and to be devout in prayer in all their mosques and in the Friday oration. They arrived at A'den in the night of the 17th Moharrem [25th March]; and the Amyr ordered the people of A'den not to take notice of them, but to engage in fortifying the port, and to be on their guard. Then the Europeans came on shore by means of ladders, which they applied to the lowest portion of the wall of A'den, mounted it, and several of them entered the town. Hereupon the Amyr ordered the people of A'den to attack them, which they did by throwing away the ladders, killing several, and capturing four men; whereupon the Europeans fled, and God be praised for it! When they [the Europeans] knew that they were unable to take the town, they burnt the ships which were in the harbour, for fear of being plundered by them. Then they sailed to Báb-al-Mandab and to Mokha, which they passed by, as far as Baqa'h, not entering any of these ports. Then they sailed to Hodaydah, turning to its entrance, and entering it in the commencement of the month Çafar [began on 8th April 1513]; they plundered whatever was in it, and killed everybody they could find of the adherents of the Sultán, and among them also the noble [Al-sheryf] Muḥammad Ben A'bd-al-a'zyz Ben Sofyán. Then they returned to the sea after arranging a plan which was not fulfilled; namely, in the month Çafar a number of the people of Çana'á assembled and meditated treachery against the Amyr Shams-al-dyn A'ly Ben Muḥammad Alba'dány, but, their secret having been revealed and their business uncovered, he made them taste the bitter fruits of their intention and the consequence of their fraud. Then the Europeans, after leaving Kumrán ruined to its foundations, sailed to A'den, but two of their ships remained behind and proceeded to Zyla', where they burnt in the harbour everything that was of wood,

and rejoined their companions, who were sailing to A'den. But they could not take A'den; accordingly they fired cannon at it, destroying some of it, and killing a number of persons in the thoroughfares. Then a great battle ensued between them and the people of A'den, in which a number of Europeans were wounded; but God gave the victory to the Moslems, and to Him be thanks and praise for warding off this calamity! They sailed away from A'den on the 1st of Jomáda II. [4th August 1513]."

This passage my learned friend Dr. Gerson da Cunha illustrates from Portuguese sources as follows:—

The above Moslem narrative, translated by Professor Rehatsek, is confirmed by the following account of the Portuguese expedition to Aden in 1513, drawn from their chronicles:—

When Affonso d'Albuquerque had placed the defences of Goa on a proper footing, and signed a treaty of peace with the Samorim (Samoudry Rājā), one of the stipulations of which was to build a fortress at Calicut, and had appointed Francisco Nogueira its captain, and Gonçalo Mendes its factor, he sailed with the *élite* of the Portuguese in India to the Red Sea. This was on the 7th February 1513. His fleet consisted of twenty ships, carrying 1,700 Portuguese and 800 Malabaresc.

Scarcely had the governor crossed the mouth of the Mandovî in Goa, and was on the ocean highway, when he summoned on board the flag-ship a council of his officers, to whom he communicated the orders he had received from the king, D. Manuel I., to cruise in the Arabian Sea, undertake the conquest of Aden (Adem), and then enter the Red Sea, and pursue the squadron of the Califa. Although the orders of the king were positive, still he thought it convenient, he said, to consult them about the project being feasible or not. All the officers having unanimously agreed to carry out the royal command, his fleet set out to its destination. The elements, however, were unfavourable to the enterprise, and the fleet was compelled to put into the harbour of the island of Socotra (Secotará), and only when the tempest had abated, and the winds were propitious, did the great Albuquerque sail straight to Aden.

The Portuguese historians Barros, Goes, Castanheda, Gaspar Correa, Faria e Souza, and others describe the city of Aden as it was when Albuquerque first visited it. It was situated at the foot of a hill rising into sharp and scarped peaks, and "presenting a delightfully awful

spectacle" (*apresenta um bello espectáculo de horror**). The strip of land around the hill jutted out into the sea in the shape of a peninsula forming two spacious roadsteads. The soil was barren, not a single plant being visible all over the surface. There was no fountain, the dry ground absorbing all the water from the rains that fell periodically. But there was an aqueduct conveying water to the city from a distance of four miles. Its inhabitants were in the habit of providing themselves with victuals either from beyond the sea, or from the interior of the country. In spite of all these drawbacks, the city of Aden was a flourishing one, thickly populated, and abounding in riches, the Portuguese having since their settlement in India imparted considerable stimulus to its trade.

The Portuguese troops landed there on the Saturday before Easter (*Sabbado d' Alleluia*) of the same year (1513), their number consisting of a thousand Portuguese and four hundred Malabarese.† They advanced under a raking fire, and began the scaling of the walls of the city, but the resistance of the Moors prevented their succeeding in this hazardous enterprise, notwithstanding their undaunted valour and superior arms of precision, and they were obliged to fall back after having suffered a great loss in killed and wounded.

The Portuguese were anxious to plant their standard on the walls of the city. In their anxiety to be the first to plant the royal *quinas*, the soldiers mounted the ladders without the least thought whether these could bear their weight, and were precipitated to the ground. Only a priest succeeded in fixing a cross on the walls instead of the banner, but it was soon removed and thrown away by the Moors. In one instance one hundred and thirty men scaled the walls and entered the fortress, but when they returned to the spot in order to descend, the ladders had been smashed to pieces. Albuquerque, who saw and lamented the confusion and rashness of his soldiers, tried hard to replace the broken ladders by new ones. Garcia de Souza went with a reinforcement of sixty men, but, finding this number insufficient to make a stand against the valiant Arabs, Albuquerque himself went down to the place with forty men, having despatched Joaõ Fidalgo with his company of militia to the moun-

* D. Francisco S. Luiz, *Os Portugueses em Africa, Asia, America, e Oceania*, Lisbon, 1849, vol. III., 2nd ed., p. 82.

† F. M. Bordallo, *Ensaio sobre a Estatistica das Possessões Portuguezas na Africa, &c.*, Lisbon, 1862, pp. 10-11.

tainous side of the fortress to offer opposition to the Moors, but was unable to do so, from the ground being steep and craggy. In the meanwhile Garcia de Souza had successfully assaulted and taken possession of a small intrenchment, but Mira Merjad at the head of a squadron of cavalry made a fierce attack upon him and swept off the Portuguese who were on the walls, some of them retreating through the very embrasures by which they had effected their entrance. At last, to those who remained on the walls, Albuquerque offered ropes to descend by, but they preferred to die rather than retreat under such humiliating circumstances.

Afonso d'Albuquerque, disheartened by so unhappy a result, returned to his fleet, not, however, without taking by assault a bastion in one of the extremities of the peninsula, whose artillery was working havoc amongst his ships. It was Manuel de Lucerda who succeeded in taking possession of this little bulwark, and most barbarously decapitated all its brave defenders. Inflated with this little success, he wished to attempt a second attack on the fortress of Aden, but Albuquerque, who was more prudent and had gained an insight into the enormous resources of the enemy, dissuaded him from doing so, and contented himself with capturing the few pieces of ordnance found in the bastion, set fire to the enemy's shipping in the harbour, and then set out for the straits of Babel-Mandeb.

The moment the fleet entered the Red Sea, the governor ordered a salute to be fired, as a sign of triumph for his being the first European who had entered that sea with such a large fleet since the creation of the world. He did not succeed in taking possession of Jedda, or in going as far as Suez, or building a fortress at the island of Camavam, in the Red Sea, as was his intention, but sailed straight to the latter island, from whence he set out on the 15th July 1513, having previously built there a pillar (*padrao*) with the Portuguese royal arms engraven on it. He arrived at the island of Meham, about the mouth of the strait, where he raised a landmark,—a tower with a cross,—as if to mark his having taken possession of the whole Red Sea, from that island inwards, and changed the name of the island from Meham to *Vera Cruz*. A very easy way, indeed, of taking possession of the world!

From the island of *Vera Cruz*, Albuquerque returned to Aden, and sent Ruy Galvaõ and Joaõ Gomes on a reconnoitring expedition to Zeila, on the African coast, which they did successfully, and returned to Aden. This city was now better fortified than ever. The fleet of the

Soldaõ (Sultân) had not been pursued—not even seen. Emir Mira Merjad, governor of Aden, was quite a match in diplomacy and military tactics for Affonso d'Albuquerque, who was now determined to resist the solicitations of his officers to hazard a second attack of Aden, the failure of which would still more compromise the renown and honour of the new conquerors. He contented himself with bombarding the city with the cannon from his fleet, and setting fire to the merchant shipping in the harbour. He then sailed from Aden, on the 4th August 1513, towards Diu, where he arrived in a few days, and entered into an agreement with Malik Eyâz for the establishment of a factory there, and for obtaining the cargo of a ship. After a short stay at Diu he set out for Goa, capturing on his way, at Chaul and Dabul, ships from the Muhammadans.

A second expedition was undertaken by D. Joaõ de Castro in 1546 for the defence of Aden against the Turk, at the request of the Muhammadan inhabitants of Ormuz, under the command of his son D. Alvaro de Castro. It is spoken of at length in Jacinto Freire de Andrade's *Vida de D. Joaõ de Castro*, Paris, 1869, pp. 270 *et seqq.* *

With regard to the expedition of Albuquerque to Aden a great deal has been written in his *Commentarios*, a work compiled by his natural son Braz d'Albuquerque—who, after the death of his father, assumed the name of Affonso—from the despatches forwarded to the king, D. Manuel. It contains also many biographical features of the life of the Cæsar of Portugal, and is at the present moment being translated by Mr. De Gray Birch, of the British Museum, into English. Two volumes have already been issued, and the third, which will probably contain the subject of these notes, is said to be in preparation. The work is published under the patronage of that most useful of literary Societies, the Hakluyt Society.

* D. Joaõ de Castro himself says, in his work called *O Roteiro de Mar Roxo*, "About three years ago" (the *Roteiro* was written in 1541) "Aden came into the possession of the Turks through the treachery of Soleimaõ Baza, Governor of Cairo:" p. 29.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

(JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1877.)

A Meeting of the Society was held on 13th January 1877. The Honourable James Gibbs, *President*, in the Chair.

The *Secretary* read the following papers :—

One by himself describing some old silver coins found near Wái, bearing Buddhistic symbols impressed with die on one of their faces, and which he supposed to occupy a place in the coinage of India between the punched coins and the round money stamped on both sides.

One by Paṇḍit Bhagavánlál Indrajī, on ancient Nágari numeration, from an inscription at Náneghát, in which was shown the manner used for indicating ten thousand and upwards, and some figures to represent one thousand, one hundred, and other numbers different from those employed in other inscriptions.

Another by the same author on a new Andhrabhṛitya king, from a Kanheri cave inscription.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Bhagavánlál, on the motion of the *President* and Prof. Bháṇḍárkar.

Several books and pamphlets presented to the Society were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

A Meeting of the Society was held on 17th February 1877. The Honourable James Gibbs, *President*, in the Chair.

Messrs. Francisco J. Xavier, Kávasji Mancherji, and Manekji Barjorji were elected Members of the Society.

Mr. E. Rehatsek read a paper on Christianity in the Persian dominions up to the fall of the Sassanian dynasty, in which a large amount of information from European and Oriental authors was



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gathered and collated to show the state of Christianity under various sovereigns of Persia, beginning with its propagation at Edessa where it first reached from Palestine.

A vote of thanks was passed to the author, on the motion of the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson and the *President*, the latter noticing the immense amount of references and the elaborateness of the paper.

Books, pamphlets, and maps presented to the Society were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

A Meeting of the Society was held on 10th March 1877. The Honourable James Gibbs, *President*, in the Chair.

Deputy Surgeon-General E. J. Franklyn, M.D., was elected a Member of the Society.

Mr. J. Gerson da Cunha read a paper on the English and their monuments at Goa, in which he gave an account of the occupation of a part of Goa by British troops during the Napoleonic wars, and of the negotiations that went on for the transfer of Goa to the British. Extracts from some of the correspondence on the subject were cited. He also described the monuments of British subjects which are now to be seen in the place, and what other relics of the troops are to be found.

A vote of thanks was passed to the author, on the motion of the Honourable Rao Sáheb Vishvanáth Náráyaṇ Maṇḍlik and the *President*.

A gold coin of one of the early Khalifs, presented by Mr. Manockjee Cowasjee Damaunwálá, and some modern European coins presented by Mr. Kharsetji Edalji, were shown, and the thanks of the Society voted to the donors.

Thanks were also voted to the donors of the various books and pamphlets presented since last Meeting, which were laid on the table.

A Meeting of the Society was held on 5th April 1877. The Honourable James Gibbs, *President*, in the Chair.

Captain F. M. Hunter (Assistant Resident, Aden) was elected a Member of the Society.

Mr. J. C. Lisbon, G.G.M.C., read a paper, "Description of some Plants growing in Bombay which are not mentioned in Dalzell and Gibson's 'Bombay Flora.'" He illustrated his paper by specimens of various dry and fresh plants.

A vote of thanks was passed to the author, on the motion of the *President* and the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson.

Paṇḍit Bhagavānlāl Indrajī was elected an Honorary Member, on the proposition of the *President*, Drs. Bühler and O. Codrington, *Secretary*.

Dr. Bühler, in seconding the proposal, mentioned the importance of the work of Mr. Bhagavānlāl, pointing out that one of his discoveries, namely, that of the old numerals, described lately in the *Indian Antiquary*, and at the meeting of this Society in January, was most remarkable, and had attracted great attention in India and Europe, and that this discovery alone entitled him to rank in the first class of Indian antiquarians.

Surgeon-Major O. Codrington was elected an Honorary Member, on the proposal of the *President*, the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson, Mr. K. C. Bedárkar, and Dr. Bühler.

The *President*, in proposing that the retiring *Secretary* be elected an Honorary Member, and that the thanks of the Society be tendered to him for his great services during three years, remarked on the care and trouble Mr. Codrington had taken in arranging and cataloguing the Library and the coins; and Dr. Bühler spoke of the improvements and revival of the *Journal*, and especially with reference to Indian antiquities. The *Secretary* returned thanks on behalf of Mr. Bhagavānlāl and himself for the great honour done to them, and the cordial feeling evoked by the submission of the vote to the Meeting.

Mr. K. C. Bedárkar proposed, and Mr. Shámrao Viṭhal seconded—“That a copy of the catalogue of books in the Society’s Library be presented to each of the Members.”—Carried.

Books, pamphlets, and maps presented to the Society since last Meeting were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Saturday the 7th July 1877. The Honourable Rao Súheb Vishvanáth Nárāyaṇ Maṇḍlik, C.S.I., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

D. B. Cromartie, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society.

Several scientific reports, books, and pamphlets presented to the Society were laid before the Meeting, and thanks were voted to the donors.

The *President* showed to the Meeting two sets of beautiful photographs of the Hindu antiquities of Java, sent to the Society by W.

Wedderburn, Esq., C.S., as a present from Mons. Hogendorp, C.S. of Netherlands India.

Mr. E. Rehatsek then read extracts from an elaborate paper on Christianity among the Mongols.

A vote of thanks to Mr. E. Rehatsek for his valuable essay was carried, on the motion of the Honourable Mr. Justice West and the Honourable Rao Sáheb Vishvanáth Nárúyaṇ Maṇḍlik, C.S.I.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Saturday, 8th September 1877. The Honourable Rao Sáheb Vishvanáth Nárúyaṇ Maṇḍlik, C.S.I., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Books, reports, &c. presented to the Society were laid on the table; on a vote of thanks to the donors being passed, the Chairman remarked on the desirability of some plan by which due acknowledgment could be made to each donor. The subject was left to be dealt with by the Managing Committee.

Mr. Káshináth T. Telang read, on behalf of Paṇḍit Bhagavánlál Indrají, portions of a paper, prepared from notes given by Paṇḍit Bhagavánlál and revised by Dr. O. Codrington (late *Secretary*), on certain coins of the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty found near Kolhápur.

Professor Bhāṇḍárkar, having made several observations on the paper, moved that the thanks of the Society be given to the writer.

This was seconded by the Honourable R. West, *Vice-President*, and carried.

A Meeting of the Society was held on 17th November 1877. The Honourable James Gibbs, *President*, in the Chair.

Norton Powlett, Esq., R.A., and C. Pinto, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

Mr. Edward Rehatsek read a paper entitled "Brief Notices of two Arabic Manuscripts on the History of Yemen, with notes from Portuguese sources by J. Gerson da Cunha, M.R.C.S."

On the motion of the Honourable *President*, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Rehatsek for his interesting paper, and to Mr. Da Cunha for his notes.

On the motion of the *President*, it was unanimously resolved that the Honourable Rao Sáheb V. N. Maṇḍlik, C.S.I., and C. E. Chap-

man, Esq., C.S., be appointed Trustees of the Loan Notes belonging to this Society, in the place of Surgeon-Major O. Codrington and J. A. Forbes, Esq., proceeded to Europe.

A General Meeting of the Members of the Society was held in the Library on Saturday, 22nd December 1877. The Honourable James Gibbs, *President*, in the Chair.

Some conversation arose as to the quorum required; no rule being found to that effect, it was pointed out that by analogy Arts. III. and XXIII. might be construed to imply that ten was a sufficient number to transact business.

The *President* opened the business by explaining the circumstances out of which had arisen the draft Resolution placed before the Anniversary Meeting in January 1877, and which was then referred back for the reconsideration of the Managing Committee, chiefly with a view to the rate of subscription being restored to Rs. 100.

Read the aforesaid Resolution and the amendments as proposed by the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson and the Honourable Rao Sáheb V. N. Maṇḍlik, C.S.I., respectively, at the last Anniversary Meeting; namely:—

Art. XV.—Instead of as at present, the following to be substituted:—

“The annual contribution of a Resident Member shall be Rupees 75, payable yearly in advance on 1st January.

“That of a Non-Resident Member shall be Rs. 15, payable yearly in advance on 1st January.

“In the event of a Resident Member leaving India for a period of three months or more, a proportionate refund may be made to him.

“A Resident Member shall pay on election a proportion of the above annual contribution, according to the number of months of the year remaining after the date of his election.

“In calculating the amount of contribution to be paid or refunded, no less a period than one month shall be considered.

“The full annual contribution of a Non-Resident Member shall be payable at the time of his election, whatsoever portion of the year may have elapsed at that date.”

Art. XVIII.—“February 28th” be substituted for “31st January or July.”

Art. XXXIII.—“The annual subscription of a Subscriber to the Library shall be Rupees 50, payable in advance on the 1st January in each year,” be substituted for the first paragraph.

The *Secretary* supported the proposition.

The Rev. J. S. S. Robertson proposed as an amendment that the subscription should be raised to Rs. 100.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha seconded the amendment.

The Honourable Rao Sáheb V. N. Maṇḍlik proposed a further amendment, that the alterations in the Rules be remitted to the Committee for reconsideration, with reference to the Rev. Mr. Robertson's proposal.

Mr. Shámrao Viṭhal seconded the amendment, which, being put to the vote, was carried.

The *President* now laid before the Meeting for its adoption the following alterations, as resolved upon by the Managing Committee :—

“The annual contribution of a Resident Member shall be Rupees seventy-five, payable half-yearly in advance on the 1st of January and 1st of July in each year. The contribution of a Non-Resident Member shall be Rupees fifteen, payable in advance on the 1st January in each year. The full annual contribution of a Non-Resident Member shall be payable at the time of his election, whatsoever portion of the year may have elapsed at that date ; but the half-yearly contribution of a Resident Member elected after the commencement of a half-year shall be recovered for the broken period only if such period exceed three months, but no contributions shall be received for a lesser period than three months, and a Resident Member elected at any time during a quarter of a year shall be charged for the whole quarter. In calculating the amount of contribution to be paid, no less a period than one month shall be considered. There shall be no return of contributions under any circumstances.

“In the event of a Resident Member leaving India for a period of more than three months, without entering on the latter quarter of a half-year for which he has paid his subscription, a moiety of his half-year's subscription will be allowed by way of deduction from the first half-yearly subscription paid by him on his return.

“Members and Subscribers will be considered to desire to retain their position in the Institution until they intimate in writing to the Secretary their wish to the contrary.

“That in Art. XXXIII. ‘Rs. 75’ be inserted instead of ‘Rs. 50.’ ”

The Honourable Mr. Justice West proposed that these alterations be passed with the following addition, which in his opinion was necessary to make more clear the position of Members on returning to India and resuming their subscription :—

“If a Member returns to India during a half-year for which his subscription has not been paid, his subscription shall be at the same rate for the broken period as if he had been elected at the time of his return.”

In making the proposition the Honourable Mr. West observed that the proposal from the Anniversary Meeting to go back to the old rate of subscription the Committee were not prepared to adopt; but after mature consideration they have recommended the assimilation of the Subscribers’ rate to that paid by the Members, as the experiment of reducing the rate to Rs. 50 had not proved a success, it being found that very few new Members come in when the lower rate is obtainable.

Mr. Westlake, who was apprehensive that the raising of the Subscribers’ rate would deter some from joining the Society, queried what was the proportion of Subscribers to Members.

The *Secretary* reported that the present number of Members is 157, and of Subscribers 37, and that the amounts actually received on account of subscription from Members and Subscribers from the beginning of the year up to date were, Rs. 7,820 and 1,518-12-4, respectively.

The proposition being seconded by K. T. Telang, Esq., M.A., LL.B., was put to the vote and carried.

The *President*, referring to the period at which the Meeting had been called, pointed out that, as the Anniversary Meeting is not usually held until late in January, it would be manifestly inconvenient to defer the alteration of the rate until after the commencement of the new year.

The Rev. D. Macpherson remarked that it was desirable the Subscribers should have notice given them of the alteration. This was assented to.

A communication received through the Political Department of the Bombay Government from the Kolhápúr State was laid on the table. It related to the discovery of certain coins and golden ornaments, supposed to belong to the Buddhist period, that had been found on the Brahmapuri Hill, near Kolhápúr.

LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

(JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1877.)

- Aarboger for Nordisk old Kyndighed og Histoire, 1875 (6 Parts), 1876 (2 Parts). By the Society.
- Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes Gesellschaft. Vol. VI., No. 2. By the Society.
- Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India for October and December 1876, February to June and August to October 1877. By the Government of India.
- A Collection of Sanskrit Medical Works. By Dr. Anna Moreshwar Kunte. Nos. 2, 4, 5, and 6. By the Author.
- A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages. By Rev. R. Caldwell. 2nd Ed. By the Director of Public Instruction.
- A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. By Rajendralála Mitra. By the Society.
- A Grammar of the Rông (Lepcha) Language. Vol. I. By the Government of India.
- An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris. By the late J. W. Breeks. By the Government of Bombay.
- Annual Report of the School of Mines, Ballarat. By the Registrar of the School.
- Annual Report of the Sassoon Mechanics' Institute, 1876-77. By the Institute.
- Annual Statements of the Trade and Navigation of the Bombay Presidency, 1873-74-75-76. By the Government of Bombay.
- Annual Statements of the Trade and Navigation of the Province of Sind for 1873-74-75-76. By the Government of Bombay.
- Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of British India in the year ending 31st March 1876. Vols. I. and II. By the Government of India.
- Archæological Survey of Western India. No. 6. By the Government of Bombay.

Archæological Survey of Western India, Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh, 1874-75. By J. Burgess. By the Secretary of State, through the Government of India.

Architectural and Archæological Remains in Khandesh, 1877. By the Government of Bombay.

Artha Shastra : based on Mill's Principles of Political Economy. By Ambalal Sakarlal. (Gujarati.) By the Director of Public Instruction.

Astronomical and Meteorological Observations made during 1874 at the United States' Naval Observatory. By the Observatory.

Bibliotheca Indica :—

Agni Purana. Fasc. X. and XI.

Ain i Akbari. By Blochmann.

Akbarnamah. Vol. I., Fasc. V. to VIII. ; Vol. II. Fasc. I.

Bhamati. Fasc. III. to V.

Biographical Dictionary of Persons who knew Mohammed. Fasc. XV.

Chaturvarga Chintamani. Vol. II., Fasc. XII.

Gobhiliya Grihya Sutra. Fasc. VII.

Hemadri. Vol. II., Fasc. VII. to IX.

Lalita Vistara.

Mimansa Darsana. Fasc. XIII.

Sam Veda Sanhita. Vol. IV., Fasc. II. to VI. ; Vol. V., Fasc. I. to IV.

By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Boletin de la Sociedad de Geografia y Estadistica de la Republica Mexicana. Tome III. 1876. By the Society.

Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de Madrid. January, February, July, August, and September 1877. By the Society.

Bombay High Court Reports. Vol. XII., Part II., with Appendix. By the Government of Bombay.

Bombay Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals ; Report for 1876. By the Society.

Bombay University Calendar, 1877-78. By the University.

Breve Noticia da Imprensa Nacional de Goa. Por F. J. Xavier. By the Author.

Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Lyon. Tome 1er, No. 7. By the Society.

- Calendario Azteca Ensayo Arqueologico. Por Alfredo Chavero. Mexico, 1876. By the Geographical Society of Mexico.
- Canadian Journal of Science, Literature, and History. Vol. XV., No. 5. By the Canadian Institute.
- Catalogue of Books printed in the Bombay Presidency during the quarters ending 31st December 1876, 31st March 1877, and 30th September 1877. By the Director of Public Instruction.
- Catalogue of Books for the Library on sale by H. Southern & Co. By H. Southern & Co.
- Catalogue of Land and Freshwater Shells of British India. By W. Theobald. By the Government of Bombay.
- Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. existing in Oudh for the quarter ending 30th September 1875. By the Government N. W. P.
- Catalogue of Stars observed at the United States' Naval Observatory, 1845-71. By the Observatory.
- Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Library of the India Office. By Otto Loth. By the Government of Bombay.
- Catalogue of the Books in the Library of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. By the Society.
- Collecção das Leis Peculiares. Por F. J. Xavier. By the Author.
- Della Storia di Fusignano Sommario. Per L. Vicchi. By the Author.
- Descriptive and Historical Account of the British Outpost of Perim. By Lieut. J. S. King. (Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government.) By the Government of Bombay.
- Descrizione dell' Isola di Pelagosa. By Dr. C. de Marchesetti. By the Author.
- De Vigtigste Udtryk for Begreberne Herre og Fyrste. E. Blix. By the Royal Norwegian University.
- Diurnal Variations of the Wind and Barometric Pressure. By F. Chambers.
- Diwan-i-Abdur Rahman, or the Poems of Abdar Rahman, the national poet of the Afghans. By Moulvi Ahmed. Edited by Rev. T. P. Hughes. By the Editor.
- Eastern Persia : an Account of the Journeys of the Persian Boundary Commission, 1870-71-72. 2 vols. By the Supt. Geological Survey of India.

Enumeratio Insectorum Norvegicorum, Fasc. II. and III. Auctore H. Siebke. By the Royal Norwegian University.

Extracts from the Narrative of Mons. Anquetil du Perron's Travels in India, chiefly those concerning his research into the Life and Religion of Zoroaster. Translated by Kavasji Edalji Kanga. By the Director of Public Instruction.

Finance and Revenue Accounts and Miscellaneous Statistics relating to the Finances of British India, Part II., 1st May 1868 to 31st March 1876. By the Government of India.

Finance and Revenue Accounts relating to the Bombay Presidency, 1st April 1865 to 30th March 1875. By the Accountant General.

Forhandlinger i Videnekabs i Christiania, 1874-75. By the Royal Norwegian University.

Free Trade and Protection, from an Indian point of view. By K. T. Telang. By the Author.

Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency. (Gujarat.) Vol. II. By the Government of Bombay.

General Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency, 1875-76. By the Government of Bombay.

General Report on the Operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India during 1875-76. By the Supt. of the Survey.

General Report of the Operations of the Marine Survey of India, from the commencement in 1874 to the end of the official year 1875-76. By the Government of India.

Great Trigonometrical Survey Maps:—By the Supt. G. T. Survey.

Guzerat, Sheet 14, Sec. 2:—Parts of Ankleshwar and Olpad Talukas.

Sheet 14, Sec. 4:—Part of the Ankleshwar Taluka, Broach Collectorate, and Olpad Taluka, Surat Collectorate.

Sheet 14, Sec. 5:—Do. do.

Sheet 14, Sec. 6:—Parts of the Ankleshwar Taluka, Olpad Taluka, and of Wasravi Mahal.

Sheet 14, Sec. 7:—Part of the Ankleshwar Taluka, Broach Collectorate.

Sheet 14, Sec. 8:—Parts of the Ankleshwar Taluka, Olpad Taluka, and Wasravi Mahal.

Sheet 78, Sec. 1:—Parts of the Viramgaum Taluka and Patan Taluka.

G. T. Survey Maps—*contd.* :—

Guzerat Sheet 78, Sec. 3 :—Parts of the Viramgaum Taluka and Kari Taluka.

Sheet 79, Sec. 1 :—Part of the Viramgaum Taluka, Ahmedabad Collectorate.

Sheet 80, Sec. 16 :—Part of the Dholka Taluka.

Sheet 81, Sec. 8 :—Part of the Dholka Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate.

Sheet 81, Sec. 15 :—Part of the Dholka Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate.

Sheet 81, Sec. 16 :—Part of the Dholka Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate, with portion of the Cambay State.

Sheet 82, Sec. 1 :—Part of the Dholka Taluka.

Sheet 12, Sec. 2 :—Part of the Dholka Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate.

Kattywar Sheet No. 36 :—Part of Kattywar and Hallar.

Sheet 37 :—Parts of Soruth, Hallar, and Kattywar.

Sheet 38 :—Parts of Kattywar and Soruth.

History of India. By Sir H. M. Elliot. Vol. VII. By the Director of Public Instruction.

Indian Meteorological Memoirs, published under the direction of H. F. Blanford. By the Government of India.

Indische Studien, von Dr. A. Weber. Vols. XI. and XII. By the Director of Public Instruction.

Indische Studien. Vol. XIV., Parts 2 and 3 (in one). By the Author.

Introduction to the Nannul. By Rev. H. Bower. By the Author.

Jehus-Bericht der Zoologischen. By the Author.

Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York. Vols. V. and VI. By the Society.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. 45, Part II., No. IV. ; Vol. 46, Part I., No. II., and Part II., No. I., 1877. By the Society.

Journal of the East India Association. Vol. X., No. 3. By the Association.

- Journal of the National Indian Association.** Nos. 71, 72, 74-83. 1877.
By the Association.
- Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.** New Series, Vol. IX., Part II.
By the Society.
- Kuda Cave Inscriptions.** (Sheet.) By the Govt. of Bombay.
- Lac : Production, Manufacture, and Trade.** By J. E. O'Connor. By
the Govt. of India.
- La Langue et la Littérature Hindoustanie en 1876.** Par M. Garcin
de Tassy. By the Author.
- Le Royaume de Norvège et le Peuple Norvégien.** Par Dr. O. J. Broch.
By the Royal Norwegian University.
- List of Light Houses and Light Vessels in British India, including
the Red Sea and Coast of Arabia.** By R. C. Carrington. By
the Supt. of the Marine Survey of India.
- Manual das Juntas de Parochia.** Por F. J. Xavier. By the Author.
- Marine Survey of India, Charts :—**By the Supt. Marine Survey of India.
- Approaches to Point de Galle Harbour. Entrance to the
Salween River.
- Approaches to Point de Galle Harbour.
- Cape Comorin to Coconada.
- False Point to Mutlah River.
- Goa and Mormagão Roadsteads.
- Gulf of Martaban.
- Indian Ocean Curves of Equal Magnetic Variation for 1877.
- Kurrachi to Vingorla.
- Madras Roadstead.
- Narsapur Point to Palmyras Point.
- Vingorla to Cape Comorin.
- Medailles du Règne de Louis XV.** By the Honourable J. Gibbs.
- Memoir of the Life of Admiral Sir Edward Codrington.** By Lady
Bourchier. 2 vols. (Presenter not known.)
- Memoirs of the Boston Society of Natural History.** Vol. II., Part IV.,
Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5. By the Society.
- Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India.** Vol. XII., Parts I. and II.;
Vol. XIII., Parts I. and II. By the Superintendent, Geological
Survey of India.

- Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India ; Palæontologia Indica.** Ser. X. 2 and Ser. XI. I. By the Superintendent, Geological Survey.
- Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester.** Third Series. Vol. V. By the Society.
- Memorials of the Life and Writings of the Rev. R. Morehead.** Edited by his son C. Morehead. By the Editor.
- Miscellaneous Statistics relating to British India, 1877.** By the Government of India.
- Modern Indian Leprosy, being the Report of a Tour in Kattiawar, 1876.** By the Publisher.
- Monograph of the Asiatic Cheiroptera and Catalogue of the Species of Bats in the Collections of the Indian Museum.** By G. E. Dobson. By the Trustees of the Indian Museum.
- Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society, December 1876 and January 1877.** By the Society.
- Monthly Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1875-76.** By the Smithsonian Institution.
- Morals of Kalidas.** By Prānanāth Paṇḍit. By the Author.
- Narrative of the North Polar Expedition U. S. Ship "Polaris."** Edited by Rear-Admiral C. H. Davis. By the United States' Naval Observatory.
- New Hindustani-English Dictionary.** By S. W. Fallon. 11 Parts. By the Director of Public Instruction.
- Ninth Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner of the N.W. Provinces, 1876.** By the Government, N. W. P.
- Norwegian Special Catalogue for the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, 1876.** By the Royal Norwegian University.
- Notes on Sorgho.** By F. G. Wigley. By the Government of India.
- Notes on the Economic Mineralogy of the Hill Districts of the N.W. Provinces of India.** By the Government, N. W. P.
- Notices of Sanskrit MSS., 1876.** By Rajendralal Mitra. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society. Vol. 39, No. 9.** By the Society.
- Occasional Papers of the Boston Society of Natural History. No. II.** By the Society.

- Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient.** For January and February 1877.
- Old Gill's Notes and Illustrations of the Buddhist Caves of Ajanta.** By the Govt. of Bombay.
- On some Remarkable Forms of Animal Life from the Great Deeps of the Norwegian Coast.** By G. O. Sars. By the Royal Norwegian University.
- On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians.** By A. C. Burnell. By the Basel Mission Book and Tract Depôt.
- On the Mathematical Expression of Observation of Complex Periodical Phenomena, and on Planetary Influence on the Earth's Magnetism.** By C. and F. Chambers. By F. Chambers, Esq.
- Pahlavi, Gujarati, and English Dictionary. Part I.** By Jamasji Dastur. By the Author.
- Papers relating to Water Storage Works in the Deccan.** By the Govt. of Bombay.
- Papers relating to the Introduction of Survey Rates into the Baga-katanda Taluka of the Hyderabad Collectorate, in Sind.** By the Govt. of Bombay.
- Prize Essay on the Reciprocal Influence of European and Mahomedan Civilization.** By E. Rehatsek. By the Author.
- Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Nos. I.-VIII., 1877.** By the Society.
- Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. New Series, Vol. IV.** By the Academy.
- Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History. Vol. XVII. Parts 3 and 4, and Vol. XVIII. Parts 1-4.** By the Society.
- Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences. Vol. I.** By the Academy.
- Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester. Vols. 13, 14, 15.** By the Society.
- Proceedings of the Parliament of South Australia. Vols. I., II., III. for 1876.** By the Bombay Government.
- Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Liverpool, 1875-76.** By the Society.
- Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain. Vol. VIII. Parts I. and II. 2 Pht.** By the Institution.

- Punjaub Trade Report, 1876-77. By the Govt. of the Punjaub.
- Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel, von Dr. C. P. Caspari. By the Royal Norwegian University.
- Questão de Vindicação d'um Vinculo. Por F. Xavier-Correa da Silva. By the Author.
- Records of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. IX. Part 4, and Vol. X. Parts 1-4. By the Government of Bombay and the Supt., Geological Survey.
- Reise der Oesterreichischen Fregatta Novara. Vol. 3. By the Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Relatorio e Contas da Gerengia. By F. J. Xavier.
- Relatorio da Comissão. By F. J. Xavier.
- Repertorio Alfabético e Remissivo da Legislação. Por F. J. Xavier. By the Author.
- Report of Progress of the first of the Oil Surveys of Japan. By B. S. Lyman. By the Chief Secretary, P.W.D., Japan.
- Report of the Administration of the Madras Presidency during 1875-76. By the Government of Madras.
- Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1875. By the Institution.
- Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for 1875-76. By the Chamber.
- Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for 1875. By the Smithsonian Institution.
- Report of the Committee appointed by Government on the projected Karwar to Gadak Railway. By the Government of Bombay.
- Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for 1875-76. By the Director.
- Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for 1876-77. By the Director.
- Report of the Meteorology of India in 1875. By H. F. Blanford. By the Director of Public Instruction.
- Report of the Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Orientalists, held in London, 1874. By the Government of Bombay, and the Director of Public Instruction.

- Report of the Vizagapatam and Backergunge Cyclones, October 1876.**
By Col. J. Elliott. 1877. By the Director of Public Instruction.
- Report on Public Instruction in Mysore, 1875-76.** By the Chief Commissioner, Mysore.
- Report on the Administration of the Baroda State, 1875-76.** By Raja Sir T. Madhavarao.
- Report on the Administration of the Central Provinces, 1876-77.** By the Chief Commissioner.
- Report on the Administration of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, 1876-77.** By the Resident at Hyderabad.
- Report on the Administration of the Meteorological Department of Western India, 1876-77.** By the Supt., Govt. Observatory, Bombay.
- Report on the Administration of Mysore, 1875-76.** By the Chief Commissioner, Mysore.
- Report on the Administration of the North-Western Provinces for 1875-76.** By the Govt., N. W. P.
- Report on the Trade and Resources of the Central Provinces, 1876-77.**
By the Chief Commissioner.
- Reports and Official Letters to the Kaitā Kushi.** By Horace Capron.
By the Author, through the Govt. of India.
- Recordi d'un Viaggio alle Indie Orientali Profili della Flora Indiana.**
Dr. C. Marchesetti. By the Author.
- Rock-cut Temples of Elura.** By J. Burgess. By the Author.
- Russian Proverbs. Oriental Proverbs.** By Rev. J. Long. By the Author.
- Scientific Results of the United States' Arctic Expedition. Vol. I.**
By the United States' Navy Dept.
- Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. 148, New Series.—Papers relative to the Completion of the Surat City Survey.** By the Govt. of Bombay.
- Selections from the Records of the Govt. of India, Home Department.—**
Reports on Publications issued and registered in the several Provinces of British India during 1874 and 1875. By the Govt. of India.
- Seventy-third Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1877.**
By the Society.

- Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. Vols. XX. and XXI. By the Smithsonian Institution.
- Statistical Abstract relating to British India, 1864 to 1873, 1865-6 to 1874-5, and 1865 to 1874. By the Govt. of Bombay.
- Tide Tables for the Ports of Bombay and Kurrachee for 1877.
 Do. for the Port of Bombay for 1877.
 Do. for the Port of Kurrachee for 1877.
 Do. for the Port of Kurrachee, 1878. By the Govt. of Bombay.
- The Absolute Direction and Intensity of the Earth's Magnetic Force at Bombay, and its Secular and Annual Variations. By C. Chambers. By F. Chambers, Esq.
- The Amara Kosha, or Sanskrit Thesaurus of Amara Sinha, with Meanings in English and Kanarese. By Lewis Rice. By the Director of Public Instruction.
- The Bene-Israelis of the Bombay Presidency. By S. Benjamin. By J. Gerson da Cunha, Esq.
- The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India. Vol. II. By the Govt. of Bombay.
- The Dinkard. By Peshotum Dustoor Behramjee Sanjana. Vol. II. By the Trustees of the Sir J. J. Translation Fund.
 Do. do. do. By the Director of Public Instruction.
- The Economy of Human Life. Translated from an Indian MS. written by an Indian Brahman. Part II. By J. Gerson da Cunha, Esq.
- The Enchanted Fruit, or the Antediluvian Hindu Wife. By J. Gerson da Cunha, Esq.
- The Fall of the Moghul Empire. By Henry George Keene. 1876. By the Govt. of Bombay.
- The Legends of the Shrine of Harihara in the Province of Mysore. Translated from the Sanskrit by Rev. Thos. Foulkes. By the Author.
- The Meanings of the Words Avesta and Zend. By Dadabhai Hirji-bhai Patel. (Gujarati.) By the Director of Public Instruction.
- The Parsee Patels of Bombay, their Services to the British Government. By Bomanji Byramji Patel. By the Author.

- The Practice of the Bombay Court of Small Causes. By Bejanji Ruttonji Kotewal. By the Director of Public Instruction.
- The Quran translated into the Urdu Language. By Shaikh Abdool Qader Ibn Shah Wali Ullah, of Delhi, A.D. 1790. By Rev. T. P. Hughes.
- The Sahyádri Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa. Edited by J. Gerson da Cunha. By the Author.
- The Three Voyages of William Barents to the Arctic Regions (1594-96). By G. de Veer. By the Government of Bombay.
- The Vedārthayatna, or An Attempt to Interpret the Vedas. Vol. I. Nos. 1 to 12, and Vol. II. Nos. 1-3. By the Director of Public Instruction.
- Thoughts on Popular Education. By Thackurdas Chakurbutty. By Rev. J. Long.
- Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. Vol. IV., and Vol. V. Parts I. and II. By the Society.
- Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, with engravings. New Edition. By the Hon'ble Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, C.S.I.
- Do. do. do. By the Director of Public Instruction.
- Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. Vol. III. Part I. By the Academy.
- Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay. New Series. No. XII. By the Society.
- Do. do. do. By the Government of Bombay.
- Un Nuovo Documento Preistorico trovato nelle India. Dr. C. Marchesetti. By the Author.
- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Vol. 30, Parts 3 and 4. By the Society.
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Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Library on Saturday the 23rd February 1878, at 4-30 P.M.

The Honourable J. Gibbs, *President*, in the Chair.

The Honourable Ráo Sáheb Vishvanáth Náráyaṇ Maṇḍlik, C.S.I., *Vice-President*.

Members.—W. Wordsworth, Esq.; T. Lidbetter, Esq.; K. R. Kámá, Esq.; Rev. D. Macpherson; K. T. Telang, Esq.; J. Westlake, Esq.; Javerilál Umiáshankar Yajnik, Esq.; Paṇḍit Bhagavánlál Indrají; Byráṁji Nasarvánji Servai, Esq.; Professor P. Peterson; J. Gerson da Cunha, Esq.; W. M. Wood, Esq., *Honorary Secretary*.

The *Secretary* read the following Report for 1877 :—

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1877.

Members.—During the year under report 2 Resident and 5 Non-Resident Members were elected, against 7 Resident and 6 Non-Resident elected in 1876; 8 have withdrawn and 4 died in 1877; so that there remain on the roll 140, of whom 26 are in Europe. There are 82 Non-Resident Members on the roll, out of whom 2 have withdrawn, 5 are in Europe, and 1 died.

The Geographical and Natural Science Section.—There are 24 Members on the roll of the Geographical Section of the Society—7 Resident and 17 Non-Resident.

Subscribers.—19 Subscribers have been admitted during the year under report, under Clause XXXI. of the Rules. The total number of Subscribers is 43, of whom 3 have withdrawn during the year under report, and there are now on the roll 40, out of whom 3 are in Europe.

Obituary.—4 Resident and 1 Non-Resident Members died in 1877 :—

1. Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart., was elected in 1847, and died on 11th July 1877.
2. Dr. S. Carvalho, G.G.M.C., was elected in 1854, and died on 13th December 1877.
3. Captain G. F. Henry was elected in 1866, and died on 23rd February 1877.

4. Andrew Lyon, Esq., C.S., Non-Resident Member, was elected in 1867, and died in 1877.
5. C. A. Langley, Esq., was elected in 1868, and died in the month of December 1877.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

1. On some Old Coins found near Wái, in the Sátará Collectorate, by Surgeon-Major O. Codrington, Secretary, B. B. R. A. Society.
2. On Ancient Nágari Numeration, from an Inscription at Náne-ghát, and on a new Āṇḍhrabhṛitya King, from a Kánheri Inscription, by Paṇḍit Bhagavánlál Indrají.
3. A paper entitled "Christianity in the Persian Dominions, from its beginning till the fall of the Sasanian Dynasty," by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.
4. A paper, "The English and their Monuments at Goa," by J. Gerson da Cunha, M.R.C.S.
5. Description of some Plants growing in Bombay which are not mentioned in Dalzell and Gibson's *Bombay Flora*, by J. C. Lisboa, G.G.M.C.
6. Copperplate of the Śilahará Dynasty, by Paṇḍit Bhagavánlál Indrají.
7. Christianity among the Mongols, by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.
8. Notes on some Coins of the Āṇḍhrabhṛitya Dynasty, by Paṇḍit Bhagavánlál Indrají and Surgeon-Major Codrington.
9. Brief Notice of two Arabic Manuscripts, by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E., supplemented with notes from Portuguese sources by J. Gerson da Cunha, M.R.C.S.

Library.—During the year under review 497 works in 580 volumes were bought by the Society, against 297 works in 396 volumes purchased in 1876.

Periodicals.—The Papers and Periodicals taken by the Society are as follows :—

Literary 15, Illustrated 13, Scientific Periodicals 22, General 5, Reviews 7, European Newspapers 16, Medical 1, Registers, Army Lists, and Directories 15, French Literary and Scientific 7, German Literary and Scientific 2, Indian Newspapers 20, Indian Journals, Reviews, &c. 44, Australian Newspapers 2 (*vide* list annexed).

*List of Periodicals, Newspapers, &c., taken by and presented to the Society.***Literary Monthlies.**

- 1 All the Year Round.
- 2 Blackwood's Magazine.
- 3 Chambers' Journal.
- 4 Cornhill Magazine.
- 5 Dublin University Magazine.
- 6 Fraser's Magazine.
- 7 Good Words.
- 8 Mind.
- 9 Macmillan's Magazine.
- 10 Notes and Queries.
- 11 Temple Bar.

Illustrated.

- 1 Art-Journal.
- 2 Australian Sketcher.
- 3 Graphic.
- 4 Illustrated London News.
- 5 Illustriste Zeitung.
- 6 L'Artiste.
- 7 L'Illustration.
- 8 Le Tour du Monde.
- 9 Le Charivari.
- 10 Portfolio.
- 11 Punch.
- 12 Scientific American.
- 13 Vanity Fair.

Scientific.

- 1 Annals and Magazine of Natural History.
- 2 Curtis's Botanical Magazine.
- 3 Cosmos.*
- 4 Geographical Magazine.
- 5 Iron, or Mechanics' Magazine.
- 6 Nautical Magazine.
- 7 Geological Magazine.
- 8 Hardwick's Science Gossip.
- 9 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*
- 10 Journal of the Asiatic Society of Japan.*
- 11 Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London.*
- 12 Journal of the Statistical Society of London.
- 13 Journal of the Linnæan Society of London.
- 14 London, Edinburgh, and Dublin Philosophical Magazine.
- 15 Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society.*
- 16 Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord.*
- 17 Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society.*
- 18 Nature.
- 19 Numismatic Chronicle.
- 20 Pharmaceutical Journal.

- 21 Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society.*
- 22 Quarterly Journal of Science.
- 23 Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society.
- 24 Quarterly Journal of Microscopic Science.
- 25 Reports of the British Association.
- 26 Transactions of the Social Science Association.

General.

- 1 Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society.*
- 2 Journal of the East India Association.*
- 3 Journal of the National Indian Association.*
- 4 The Animal World.*
- 5 The Anglo-Indian Commercial Advertiser.*

Reviews.

- 1 British Quarterly Review.
- 2 Contemporary Review.
- 3 Edinburgh Review.
- 4 Fortnightly Review.
- 5 Nineteenth Century.
- 6 Quarterly Review.
- 7 Westminster Review.

European Newspapers.

- 1 Academy.
- 2 Architect.
- 3 Army and Navy Gazette.
- 4 Athenæum.
- 5 Builder.
- 6 Chemical News.
- 7 Economist.
- 8 Engineering.
- 9 Field.
- 10 Guardian.
- 11 Home News.
- 12 The Times.
- 13 Pall Mall Budget.
- 14 Saturday Review.
- 15 Spectator.
- 16 World.

Medical Newspapers.

- 1 Lancet.

Registers, Army Lists, and Directories.

- 1 Almanach de Gotha.
- 2 Annual Register.
- 3 Bradshaw's Continental Guide.
- 4 British Postal Guide.

* Presented by Learned Societies, Institutions, and Governments.

Registers, Army Lists, and Directories—contd.

- 5 Clergy List.
- 6 Dod's Parliamentary Companion.
- 7 Dod's Peerage.
- 8 Hart's Annual Army List.
- 9 Indian Army and Civil List.
- 10 Medical Directory.
- 11 Nautical Almanac.
- 12 Oliver and Boyd's Edinburgh Almanac.
- 13 Royal Army List.
- 14 Royal Navy List.
- 15 Statesman's Year Book.

French Literary and Scientific Periodicals.

- 1 Annales de Chimie et de Physique.
- 2 Bulletin de la Société Géographique de France.*
- 3 Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences.
- 4 Journal Asiatique.
- 5 L'Institut.
- 6 Revue des Deux Mondes.

American Literary and Scientific Periodicals.

- 1 Atlantic Monthly.
- 2 North American Review.
- 3 Silliman's American Journal of Science and Art.
- 4 Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge.*
- 5 " Miscellaneous Collections.*
- 6 " Reports.*
- 7 Reports, &c. of Boston Natural History Society.*

German Literary and Scientific Periodicals.

- 1 Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient.*
- 2 Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Indian Newspapers.

- 1 Bombay Catholic Examiner.
- 2 " Educational Record.
- 3 " Gazette.
- 4 " Government Gazette.*
- 5 " Guardian.
- 6 Times of India.
- 7 Englishman.
- 8 Friend of India, and the Statesman.
- 9 Gazette of India.*
- 10 Gazette, Bengal Government.*
- 11 " Madras.*
- 12 " North-West Provinces and Oudh.*
- 13 " Punjaub.*

- 14 Hindoo Patriot.
- 15 Indian Antiquary.
- 16 Indian Charivari.
- 17 Native Opinion.
- 18 Pioneer.
- 19 Madras Athenæum and Daily News.
- 20 Indian Agriculturist.

Indian Journals, Reviews, &c.

- 1 Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency.*
- 2 " North-West Provinces.*
- 3 " Madras Presidency.*
- 4 " Central Provinces.*
- 5 " by the Resident at Hyderabad.*
- 6 " of Mysore.*
- 7 " of the P. W. Dept. of the Bombay Presidency.*

- 8 Bengal Quarterly Army List.
- 9 Bibliotheca Indica.*
- 10 Bombay Army List.
- 11 Bombay Civil List.*
- 12 Bombay High Court Reports.*
- 13 Bombay Times of India Calendar.
- 14 Bombay University Calendar.*
- 15 Calcutta Review.
- 16 Catalogue of Books printed in the Bombay Presidency.*

- 17 Finance and Revenue Accounts and Miscellaneous Statistics relating to the Finance of British India.*

- 18 G. T. Survey Maps.*
- 19 Indian Museum Minutes.*
- 20 Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society.*
- 21 Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India.*

- 22 Madras Almanack.*
- 23 Madras Quarterly Army List.
- 24 Marine Survey Charts.
- 25 Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India.*

- 26 " Palæontologia Indica.*
- 27 Meteorological and Magnetical Observations made at Bombay.*

- 28 Miscellaneous Statistics relating to British India.*

- 29 Monthly Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India.*

- 30 Mookerjee's Magazine.
- 31 Pandit.

- 32 Pratna-Kamra-Nandini; or the Hindu Commentator.

- 33 Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

- 34 Proceedings of the Legislative Council of Bombay.*

* Presented by Learned Societies, Institutions, and Governments.

Indian Journals, Reviews, &c.—contd.

- 35 Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.*
 36 Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.*
 37 Report on Vaccination throughout the Bombay Presidency and Sind.*
 38 Report of the Meteorological Reporter to the Government of Bengal.*
 39 Reports of the G. T. Survey of India.*

- 40 Report of the Director of Public Instruction in Mysore.*
 41 Report of the Municipal Commissioner of Bombay.*
 42 Report of the Sassoon Mechanics' Institute.*
 43 Thacker's Bengal Directory.
 44 Vedarthayatna.

Australian Newspapers.

- 1 Australasian.
 2 The Argus.

Presents to the Library.—123 works in 155 volumes, and 117 pamphlets, were presented to the Society during the year, chiefly by the India Office, the Government of India, the Governments of Bombay, Madras, the North-West Provinces, and the Panjab, the principal learned Societies of Europe, America, and Australia, and the authors.

Museum.—The following additions were made to the Museum during the year :—

32 whole and 11 half Rupees purchased from the Huzur Deputy Collector, Broach.

12 Silver Coins purchased from J. G. Moore, Esq., Collector of Sátará.

3 Gold Coins purchased from the Honourable E. W. Ravenscroft, C.S.I., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

16 old Copper Coins purchased from the Acting Deputy Collector of Ahmadábád.

74 Copper Coins, 6 Silver Rupees, and 5 Silver Half-Rupees purchased from the Huzur Deputy Collector, Khedá.

Coins and some other articles presented to the Society by the Political Agent of Kolhápur.

Subscriptions.—The subscriptions received from the different classes of Members amounted in 1877 to Rs. 10,777-8-4, against Rs. 11,677-8-0 in 1876.

At the last Meeting of the Society, held on December 22nd, 1877, the following alterations in the Society's Rules were adopted:—

“The annual contribution of a Resident Member shall be Rupees seventy-five, payable half-yearly, in advance, on the 1st of January and 1st of July in each year. The contribution of a Non-Resident Member shall be Rupees fifteen, payable in advance, on the 1st January in each year. The full annual contribution of a Non-Resident Member shall be payable at the time of his election, whatsoever portion of the year may have elapsed at that date; but the half-yearly contribution of a Resident Member elected after the commencement of a half-year shall be recovered

* Presented by Learned Societies, Institutions, and Governments.

for the broken period only if such period exceed three months, but no contribution shall be received for a lesser period than three months, and a Resident Member elected at any time during a quarter of a year shall be charged for the whole quarter. In calculating the amount of contribution to be paid, no less a period than one month shall be considered. There shall be no return of contributions under any circumstances.

“In the event of a Resident Member leaving India for a period of more than three months without entering on the latter quarter of a half-year for which he has paid his subscription, a moiety of his half-year's subscription will be allowed by way of deduction from the first half-yearly subscription paid by him on his return. If a Member returns to India during a half-year for which his subscription has not been paid, his subscription shall be at the same rate for the broken period as if he had been elected at the time of his return.

“Members and Subscribers will be considered to desire to retain their position in the institution until they intimate in writing to the Secretary their wish to the contrary.

“That in Art. XXXIII. ‘Rs. 75’ be inserted instead of ‘Rs. 50.’”

In laying the proposal before the Meeting, the Honourable Mr. Justice West observed—

That the proposal from the Anniversary Meeting to go back to the old rate of subscription the Committee were not prepared to adopt, but, after mature consideration, they have recommended the assimilation of the Subscribers' rate to that paid by the Members, as the experiment of reducing the rate to Rs. 50 had not proved a success, it being found that very few new Members come in when the lower rate is obtainable.

The Journal.—Dr. Bühler's Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts made in Káśmír, Rájputáná, and Central India was printed and published as an extra Number of Vol. XII. of the Society's *Journal* during 1877, the author contributing Rs. 450, and the Society paying Rs. 725. The *Journal* Number XXXIII., Vol. XII., was printed in the year 1876, but the printing charges (Rs. 1,206-9-0) were paid in the year under report, and also the *Journal* Number XXXIV., Vol. XII., was printed and published in the year under report, the printing charges of which amounted to Rs. 1,295-5-0. Vol. XIII. of the Society's *Journal*, together with the *Proceedings* for 1877, is nearly ready, and the *Secretaries* hope to be able to issue it, with an Index, next month.

Surgeon-Major Codrington, having resigned the Secretaryship, in April last proceeded to Europe. At a Meeting of the Society held on

the 5th April 1877 he was elected an Honorary Member of the Society. The *President*, in proposing that the retiring *Secretary* be elected an Honorary Member, and that the thanks of the Society be tendered to him for his great services during three years, remarked on the care and trouble Mr. Codrington had taken in arranging and cataloguing the Library and the coins; and Dr. Bühler spoke of the improvements and revival of the *Journal*, and especially with reference to Indian antiquities.

W. M. Wood, Esq., was elected, at the Meeting held on 28th April 1877, to supply the place of Dr. Codrington.

Photographs of the Hindu Temples at Boro Budor, in Java.—One of our Members, Mr. W. Wedderburn, C.S., while going on a voyage round the world, obliged the *Joint Secretary* by taking charge of a set of the reprint of the Bombay Literary Society's Transactions as a present to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. When in Java, Mr. Wedderburn succeeded in obtaining for the Society a most valuable set of photographs of the celebrated temples of Boro Budor, in that island.

The Báli Purána.—We have not been able to make further progress towards getting the *Báli Brahmánda Purána* from Java; but the set of Puránas to be exchanged, as proposed in 1851-52 by Major-General Sir G. LeGrand Jacob, is being got ready by our *Joint Secretary*.

Proposed by K. T. Telang, Esq., seconded by K. R. Kámá, Esq.—

That the Report now read be adopted, and that the thanks of the Society be given to the retiring Committee for their services during the year.

Carried unanimously.

Proposed by the Honourable Ráo Sáheb Vishvanáth N. Maṇḍlik, C.S.I., seconded by K. T. Telang, Esq.—

That the Committee for 1878 stand as in the last year with the following alterations:—

W. Wordsworth, Esq., in the place of Surgeon-General Thom, proceeded to Europe, as Vice-President.

J. Q. Pigot, Esq., in the place of W. Wordsworth, Esq., as Member of the Committee.

Thomas Lidbetter, Esq., in the place of Dhanjibháí Frámji, Esq., resigned, as Member of the Committee.

K. R. Kámá, Esq., in the place of Col. White, proceeding to Europe, as Member of the Committee.

Jehángir Barjorji Váchá, Esq., in the place of Thomas Lidbetter, Esq., as Auditor.

Carried unanimously.

The *President* observed that he had been given to understand that Professor Dowson, who had lately retired from the Staff College at Sandhurst, had completed the editing of Sir H. Elliot's "History of India as told by its own Historians," and was now available for other literary work of a similar character, which he would be glad to undertake on terms which, considering his peculiarly high qualifications in that branch of literature, seemed to the *President* to be quite moderate. He suggested to the meeting whether under the circumstances it would not be proper to bring to the notice of Government the advisability of the fact being laid before His Lordship the Secretary of State for India that, while there were pretty full accounts of the History of Northern India, our translated accounts of Muhammadan Kingdoms of the Dekkan were meagre in the extreme. Ferishtah passes over the Kutb-Sháhi, Imád-Sháhi, and Berid-Sháhi dynasties with a few sentences, alleging that he could not obtain materials for their history; while, with the exception of a small memorandum by Major Watson on the Muhammadan Kings of Gujarát, founded on the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, we have little knowledge of their history.

It was then proposed by Professor Peterson, and seconded by the Honourable Ráo Sáheb V. N. Maṇḍlik, C.S.I., and resolved unanimously—That the above matter be brought before Government, in order that Professor Dowson's services might be secured for the purpose of preparing a History of the five Muhammadan Kingdoms of the Dekkan, of the Farukhís in Khándesh, and the Muhammadan Kings of Gujarát and Málwá, from the Persian MSS. in Great Britain, supplemented, if necessary, from India.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE
Dr. GENERAL STATEMENT of RECEIPTS and DIS

1877.		Amount.	
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
	Balances of last year due from—		
	Premchand Roychand Fund	193 9 2	
	Messrs. Trübner & Co.	655 0 6	848 9 8
	Balance of last year, including Premchand Roychand Government 4 per cent. Loan Fund.		7,354 9 10
	Subscriptions of Resident Members	7,857 8 0	
	Ditto Non-Resident Members.....	690 0 0	
	Ditto from Subscribers to the Library.....	1,518 12 4	
	Ditto in arrears for 1876.....	503 12 0	
	Ditto ditto 1875.....	117 8 0	
	Ditto ditto 1874.....	90 0 0	
	Government Contribution.....	4,200 0 0	
	Sale-proceeds of Journal	68 7 0	
	Ditto New Catalogues	15 0 0	
	Ditto Waste Paper, &c.	87 12 0	
	Ditto Coins	42 8 6	15,191 3 10
	Balance of Bhagwándás Purshotamdás Fund....		24 8 10
	Total.....Rs.		23,419 0 2

Examined and found correct.

ATMARAM PÁNDURANG, } Auditors.
 THOMAS LIDBETTER, }

Bombay, December 31st, 1877.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

BURSEMENTS from 1st January to 31st December 1877.

Cr.

1877.		Amount.
	Balances of last year due to—	
	Messrs. Storrar and Buchanan	
	Bhagwándás Purshotamdás Fund	
		Rs. a. p.
		Rs. a. p.
		45 5 6
	Office Establishment	4,939 1 0
	Compassionate Allowance.....	605 0 0
	Purchase of Books and Publications	2,963 12 3
	Subscription to Newspapers and Periodicals ..	446 7 0
	Printing and Advertising Charges	3,726 6 0
	Binding Charges.....	425 8 0
	Postage and Receipt Stamps	134 8 10
	Shipping Charges	32 9 6
	Stationery	140 8 3
	General Charges	472 4 1
		13,880 0 11
	Premchand Roychand Fund.....	193 9 2
	Messrs. Trübner & Co.	44 13 10
	Premchand Roychand Government 4 per cent Loan Fund	3,000 0 0
	Balance—	
	Government 4 per cent. Paper	3,000 0 0
	In the Bank of Bombay	3,223 11 9
	In hand	25 7 0
		6,249 2 9
	Total.....Rs.	23,419 0 2

E. E.

VISHVANÁTH NÁRÁYAṆ MAṆḌLIK,

Vice-President and Joint Secretary.

Bombay, December 31st, 1877.

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
AT THE CLOSE OF 1877.

Vice-Patrons.

The Honourable Sir M. R. Westropp, Kt., Chief Justice.
 The Right Rev. L. G. Mylne, D.D., Lord Bishop of Bombay.

President.

The Honourable James Gibbs, F.R.G.S., C.S.

Vice-Presidents.

The Honourable Mr. Justice West, M.A., F.R.G.S.C.S.
 The Honourable Ráo Sáheb Vishvanáth Náráyaṇ Maṇḍlik, C.S.I.
 Surgeon-General W. Thom, F.R.C.S.
 Major-Genl J. A. Ballard, C.B., R.E.

COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

Members.

W. Loudon, Esq.
 Prof. R. G. Bhāṇḍárkar, M.A.
 Lieut. H. Morland, I.N., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.
 Javerilál Umiáshankar, Esq.
 J. A. Forbes, Esq.
 Surgeon-Major W. Dymock, B.A.
 Dhanjibháí Frámji, Esq.
 J. G. da Cunha, Esq., M.R.C.S.
 Col. J. H. White, R.E.
 Rev. D. Macpherson, M.A.
 Prof. P. Peterson, M.A.
 W. Wordsworth, Esq., B.A.
 E. T. Leith, Esq., LL.M.

Secretaries.

The Honourable Ráo Sáheb Vishvanáth Náráyaṇ Maṇḍlik, C.S.I.
 W. Martin Wood, Esq.

Auditors.

Thomas Lidbetter, Esq.
 Átmáráṁ Páṇḍurang, Esq., G.G.M.C

List of Resident Members for 1877.

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1840 Manockji Cursetji, Esq., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.	1864 G. A. Kittredge, Esq.
1845 Lestock Reid, Esq., C.S.	„ Byrámji Jijibháí, Esq.
1847 Manmohandás Devidás, Esq.	„ Kharsetji Nasarwánji Kámá Esq.
1850 Dhanjibháí Frámji, Esq.	„ Shántarám Náráyan, Esq.
1855 Vináyakráo Vásudevji, Esq.	„ G. S. Lynch, Esq.
1857 Sir Mangaldás Nathubháí, Kt., C.S.I.	„ Major-General J. A. Bal- lard, C.B., R.E.
1858 T. F. Punnett, Esq.	„ Nowroji Manekji Wádiá, Esq.
1860 J. A. Forbes, Esq.	„ Rev. W. Maule, LL.D.
„ J. M. Maclean, Esq.	1865 Sorábji Frámji Pátel, Esq.
„ Rev. D. Macpherson, M.A.	„ Átmárám Pándurang, Esq., G.G.M.C.
„ Honourable James Gibbs, F.R.G.S., C.S.	„ A. W. Forde, Esq., C.E.
1861 Frámji Nasarwánji, Esq.	„ Hamilton Maxwell, Esq.
„ Kharsetji Rustamji Kámá, Esq.	„ H. Cleveland, Esq.
„ W. Loudon, Esq.	„ F. Mathew, Esq., C.E.
1862 Honourable Ráo Sáheb Vish- vanáth Náráyan Maṇḍ- lik, C.S.I., <i>Life Member.</i>	„ W. M. Wood, Esq.
1863 Camrudin Tyabji, Esq.	„ E. D. Sassoon, Esq.
„ Harichandra Sadashivji, Esq., As. C.E.	„ Rámkrishna Gopál Bhán- dárkar, Esq., M.A.
„ Honourable Mr. Justice R. H. Pinhey, C.S.	„ C. E. Benn, Esq.
„ Honourable Mr. Justice R. West, M.A., F.R.G.S., C.S.	1866 Vandravandás Purshotam- dás, Esq.
„ Kharsetji Fardunji Párák, Esq.	„ Captain F. P. Worthy.
„ F. F. Arbuthnot, Esq., C.S.	„ D. Watson, Esq.
„ Rev. R. Stothert, M.A.	„ E. B. Carroll, Esq.
„ Surgeon-Major W. Dymock, B.A.	„ Janárdan Gopálji, Esq.
1864 Honourable Mr. Justice L. H. Bayley.	„ C. E. Chapman, Esq., Ben. C.S.
	„ T. Ormiston, Esq., C.E.
	„ Surgeon-General W. G. Hunter, M.D.
	„ Rev. G. C. Reynell, M.A.
	„ R. L. Crawford, Esq.
	1867 C. P. Cooper, Esq.
	„ G. H. Farran, Esq., M.A.

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1867 J. Westlake, Esq.	1870 Robert Ewing, Esq.
„ T. B. Kirkham, Esq.	1871 J. Q. Pigot, Esq.
„ P. F. Gomes, Esq., G.G.M.C.	„ J. Jefferson, Esq.
„ Dastur Jamáspji Minocher- ji, Esq.	„ Thákurdás Átmúráam Mehtá, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
„ R. M. A. Branson, Esq.	„ Bamanji Kharsetji Kávasji, Esq.
„ D. Graham, Esq.	„ Shápurji Hormasji Phátak, Esq.
„ T. Lidbetter, Esq.	„ C. A. Stuart, Esq.
„ Morárji Gokaldás, Esq.	„ Honourable J. Marriott, B.A.
1868 E. T. Leith, Esq., LL.M.	1872 W. Wordsworth, Esq., B.A.
„ R. M. Maclean, Esq.	„ J. B. Paterson, Esq.
„ Honourable Nácodá Maho- med Ali Rogay.	„ John Gordon, Esq.
„ Surgeon-Major J. Pinker- ton, M.D.	1873 J. Gerson da Cunha, Esq., M.R.C.S.
„ Surgeon-Major J. Lums- daine.	„ Nánábhái Haridás, Esq., LL.B.
„ J. C. Lisboa, Esq., G.G.M.C.	„ W. G. Hall, Esq.
„ C. E. Fox, Esq., M.A.	„ J. K. Bythell, Esq.
„ Pherosháh Merwánji Mehtá, Esq., M.A.	„ P. Ryan, Esq.
1869 A. E. Ashley, Esq.	„ Dhirajráam Dalpatráam, Esq., G.G.M.C.
„ F. L. Latham, Esq.	„ Dinsháh Mánekji Petit, Esq.
„ L. P. de Rozario, Esq., L.M.	„ J. MacDonald, Esq.
„ E. Walker, Esq.	„ Captain G. T. Robinson, I.N.
„ F. W. Doolittle, Esq., B.A., M.D.	„ Lieut. W. L. Searle, I.N.
„ Honourable Sorábji Shápur- ji Bengali.	„ Sorábji Jamsetji Jijibhái, Esq.
„ J. Dixon, Esq.	„ Varjivandás Mádhowdás, Esq.
1870 Hormasji Ardeshir Suntook, Esq.	„ R. G. Walton, Esq.
„ Honourable Sir M. R. Wes- tropp, Kt., B.A.	„ Lieut. H. Morland, I.N., F.R.A.S., M.R.G.S.
„ Vináyakráo Rámchandra Laxumanji, Esq.	1874 H. Conder, Esq.
	„ Lieut.-Col. J. H. White, R.E.

Year of
Election.

- 1874 T. W. Wood, Esq.
 „ A. Buchanan, Esq.
 „ Káshináth Trimbak Telang,
 Esq., M.A., LL.B.—
Life Member.
 „ Byrámjí Nasarwánjí Servai,
 Esq.—*Life Member.*
 „ N. Spencer, Esq.
 „ Captain W. P. Walshe.
 „ D. Finlayson, Esq.
 „ Kharsetjí Jehángir Tára-
 chánd, Esq.
 „ G. A. Barnett, Esq.
 „ P. Peterson, Esq., M.A.
 „ Khaṇḍeráo Chimanráo Be-
 dárkar, Esq., B.A.,
 LL.B.
 „ Pherosháh Merwánjí Jiji-
 bhai, Esq.—*Life Member*
 „ Javerilál Umiashankar, Esq.
 „ Hormasjí Nowrojí Saklát-
 wálá, Esq.
 „ Grattan Geary, Esq.
 „ Jehángir Barjorjí Váchá,
 Esq.
 „ Shámrao Viṭhal, Esq.

List of Non-Resident Members for 1877.

- 1855 The Hon' ble T. C. Hope,
 C.S.I.
 1859 Surgeon-Major J. P. Strat-
 ton.
 1861 A. Faulkner, Esq.
 1862 J. B. Peile, Esq., M.A., C.S.
 „ Surgeon-General W. Thom.
 1863 G. Bühler, Esq., Ph.D.
 „ H. M. Birdwood, Esq., M.A.,
 C.S.
 1864 Major E. W. West.

Year of
Election.

- 1874 Gaṇpatráo Bháskar, Esq.
 1875 Christopher B. Lynch, Esq.,
 „ Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart.
 „ Cowasjí Cursetjí Jamsetjí,
 Esq.
 „ Basil Lang, Esq.
 „ George Larcom, Esq.
 „ Rev. Dugald Mackichan
 M.A., B.D.
 „ Ánandráo Bháskarjí, Esq.
 1876 C. Grondona, Esq.
 „ Surgeon-Major D. Mackie,
 M.A., M.D.
 „ J. A. Bryce, Esq.
 „ J. A. Cassels, Esq., M.A.
 „ James Macnabb Campbell,
 Esq., C.S.
 „ G. W. Forrest, Esq., B.A.
 „ Ánná Moreshvar Kunte,
 Esq., B.A., M.D.
 „ The Right Rev. L. G.
 Mylne, D.D., Lord Bi-
 shop of Bombay.—*Life*
Member.
 1877 Mánékjí Barjorjí, Esq.
 „ D. B. Cromartie, Esq.

- 1864 W. T. Blanford, Esq., F.G.S.
 „ J. P. Leith, Esq.
 „ Lieut.-Col. T. Waddington.
 „ R. G. Oxenham, Esq., M.A.
 „ Surgeon-Major W. Niven,
 M.D.
 1865 Ráo Bahádur Trimalráo
 Vyankatēsh.
 „ T. Cooke, Esq., M.A.,
 LL.D., F.G.S.
 1866 E. H. Percival, Esq., C.S.

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1866 Brigadier-General J. S. Gell.	1868 Ázam Gaurishankar Ude-shankar.
„ H. I. B. Hargrave, Esq., C.E.	„ Ázam Jayashankar Lalshankar.
„ A. T. Crawford, Esq., C.S.	„ Kṛishṇáji Lakshuman, Esq.
„ Balwantráo Vináyak Shástri, Esq.	„ Jagannáth Icháráam, Esq.
„ Dastur Hoshangji Jamásji, Esq.	1869 J. F. Fleet, Esq., C.S.
„ W. H. Newnham, Esq., C.S.	„ Rev. A. V. Lisboa.
„ J. H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., Ben. C.S.	„ Bamanji Jamásji, Esq.
„ G. Norman, Esq., C.S.	„ Cursetji Manockji Cursetji, Esq., B.A.
„ Surgeon-Major H. Aitkins.	„ Joráwar Khánji Bahádur, Nawáb of Rádhanpur.
„ F. Kielhorn, Esq., Ph.D.	1870 J. Jardine, Esq., C.S.
1867 W. Wedderburn, Esq., C.S.	„ R. M. E. Brereton, Esq., C.E.
„ K. M. Chatfield, Esq., M.A.	„ James Simpson, Esq.
„ A. C. Lyall, Esq., C.S.	1871 A. D. Cunningham, Esq.
1868 Alijah Amritráo Sáheb Daffe, Chief of Jat.	„ R. E. Candy, Esq., C.S.
„ G. B. Reid, Esq., C.S.	„ G. H. D. Wilson, Esq., C.S.
„ Govind Kṛishṇa Bhuskute, Esq.	„ Keru Lakshuman Chhatre, Esq., M.A.
„ H. H. the Thákur Sáheb of Bhávnagar.	1872 John MacLeod Campbell, Esq., C.S.
„ H. H. the Nawáb of Junágadh. [nagar.	„ W. Lec-Warner, Esq., M.A., C.S.
„ H. H. the Jám of Nawá-	„ W. Ramsay, Esq., C.S.
„ Alijah Rámchandra Ráo Appá Sáheb of Jamkhindi.	„ J. L. Kipling, Esq.
„ Jhadeja Shri Ráoji Thakur Sáheb of Morvi.	„ H. Batty, Esq., B.A., C.S.
„ Jhadeja Shri Jayasingji Thákur Sáheb of Dhrole.	1874 A. F. Pereira, Esq.
„ Shrinivásráoji Pant Pratini-dhi.	„ F. Fedden, Esq., F.G.S.
„ Ázam Goka'ji Sampatrám.	„ Shripat Bábjí Thákur, Esq., C.S.
„ Ázam Bhagwánji Karamsi.	„ G. F. Sheppard, Esq., C.S.
	„ A. J. M. Inverarity, Esq.
	1875 Rev. George Shirt.
	„ Carlo de Marchesetti, M.D.
	1876 Rev. T. P. Hughes.

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1876 G. C. Whitworth, Esq., C.S.	1877 Francisco Joaõ Xavier, Esq.
„ J. A. Baines, Esq., C.S.	„ Kávasji Mancherji, Esq.
„ Rev. Thomas Foulkes.	„ Captain F. M. Hunter.
„ Ubaldo da Costa Campos, Esq.	„ C. Pinto, Esq.
	„ Norton Powlett, Esq., R.A.

*List of Subscribers to the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society
for the year 1877.*

1874 R. H. Baker, Esq.	1877 W. J. Best, Esq.
„ H. W. Payne, Esq.	„ Nasarwánji Jamshedji Rat- nagar, Esq.
„ James Douglas, Esq.	„ J. W. Orr, Esq., M.A.
„ C. F. Farran, Esq., B.A.	„ William Gill, Esq.
„ Surgeon W. Gray, M.B.	„ Stephen Newcome Fox, Esq.
1875 T. H. Moore, Esq.	„ Rev. Luke Rivington.
„ L. R. W. Forrest, Esq.	„ Surgeon-Major H. J. Blanc, M.D.
„ Surgeon-Major H. V. Carter, M.D.	„ A. Renaud, Esq.
„ John Warden, Esq.	„ Eugène Kappeler, Esq.
„ Surgeon-Major H. E. R. Langley, B.A.	„ Brigadier-General C. T. Aitchison, C.B.
„ W. Fraser, Esq.	„ Deputy Surgeon-General W. J. Moore.
1876 R. B. Sedgwick, Esq.	„ N. R. Oliver, Esq.
„ E. Browning, Esq.	„ His Excellency Lieut.-Gene- ral Sir Charles William Dunbar Staveley, K.C.B.
„ W. A. Baker, Esq.	„ Charles Henry Mein, Esq.
„ J. G. Russell, Esq.	„ Major F. Adam.
„ William Bullock, Esq.	„ Surgeon-General L. C. Stewart, M.D.
„ J. L. Madden, Esq.	
„ H. A. Richardson, Esq.	
„ Mirza Hairat, Esq.	
„ Walter Thacker, Esq.	
1877 F. Chambers, Esq. [C.S.	
„ T. Denison-Mackenzie, Esq.,	

List of Honorary Members.

1830 Sir J. Gardiner Wilkinson, London.	1842 N. L. Westergaard, Esq., K.D., Copenhagen.
1832 M. Garcin de Tassy, Paris.	1848 M. le Vicomte de Kerck- hove, Antwerp.
1835 A. C. Walne, Esq., Cairo.	„ M. Eugène de Kerckhove, Antwerp.
1842 M. le Marquis de Ferrière de Vayer.	

Year of Election	Year of Election
1849 B. Hodgson, Esq., London.	1874 M. Commendatore C. Negri, President of the Geo- graphical Society of Italy
1852 H. J. Carter, Esq., F.R.S., London.	„ E. Rehatsek, Esq., M.C.E.
1855 W. E. Frere, Esq., C.M.G., London.	„ Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I., Wolfelee, Hawick, N.B.
1856 Honourable Sir R. Temple, G.C.S.I.	„ Dr. Karl Von Scherzer.
„ Dr. A. Weber, Berlin.	1875 Monier Williams, Esq., M.A., D.C.L., Oxford.
„ J. H. Rivara da Cunha, Esq., Goa.	1877 Surgeon-Major O. Codrington.
1865 G. C. M. Birdwood, Esq., M.D., C.S.I., London.	„ Paṇḍit Bhagavānlāl Indrājī.
1869 H. Newton, Esq., C.S., London.	

Members retired to Europe.

1822 W. Nicol, Esq.	1842 W. W. Cargill, Esq.
1823 Sir P. M. Melvill.	„ E. B. Eastwick, Esq., C.B.
1830 Sir H. C. Rawlinson, K.C.B.	„ The Right Honourable Sir H. B. E. Frere, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.
„ Lestock R. Reid, Esq.	„ Sir Thomas Erskine Perry, Knight.
1831 J. S. Law, Esq.	1843 R. K. Pringle, Esq.
1832 Colonel James Holland.	„ A. Spens, Esq.
1834 R. W. Crawford, Esq.	1844 Col. W. R. Dickinson, R.E.
1835 John Harkness, Esq., LL.D.	„ Lieut.-Genl. W. F. Marriott.
1837 P. Ewart, Esq.	1845 J. A. Baumbach, Esq.
„ E. L. Jenkins, Esq.	„ H. Conybeare, Esq.
1838 D. Davidson, Esq.	„ H. P. St. George Tucker, Esq.
„ Maj.-Genl. Sir G. LeGrand Jacob, C.B., K.C.S.I.	„ T. S. Cowie, Esq.
„ C. Morehead, Esq., M.D.	„ Lieut. J. F. Jones, I.N.
„ General H. B. Turner.	1846 Arthur Malet, Esq.
1839 W. Graham, Esq.	1847 W. C. Coles, Esq., M.D.
1840 Sir H. L. Anderson, K.C.S.I.	„ H. P. Malet, Esq.
„ S. S. Dickinson, Esq.	„ Sir William Yardley, Kt.
„ Rev. J. M. Mitchell, D.D.	1848 Rev. J. H. Glasgow, LL.D.
1841 C. J. Erskine, Esq.	
1841 H. G. Gordon, Esq.	
„ J. R. Hadow, Esq.	

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1849 G. M. Campbell, Esq.	1856 General Sir Edward Lugard, G.C.B.
„ H. B. Gilmour, Esq.	1863 A. R. Scoble, Esq., Q.C.
„ Thomas L. Jenkins, Esq.	„ J. R. Arthur, Esq.
1850 Major-General C. W. Tre- menheere, R.E.	1865 Rev. D. C. Boyd, M.A.
1851 J. Graham, Esq.	1868 F. R. S. Wyllie, Esq.
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